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NOVEMBER, 1949

SOCIAL ORDER

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Leo A. Coressel

▶ Labor School in India

Thomas Q. Enright

▶ High School Debate Topic

T. Byron Collins

▶ Causes of Industrial Peace

Philip S. Land

For Private Circulation

SOCIAL ORDER

Vol. II

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...just a few things:

FATHER LAND's lengthy report on five of the 15 case studies in good industrial relations is an article well worth reading. The subject is extremely important for the future growth of a true industrial community in the United States. The studies undertaken by the National Planning Association are an excellent contribution, partly because they are in a sense pioneering efforts and are able, consequently, to select the best possible examples. (Father Land indicates how carefully the cases were selected). They are an excellent conclusion also because they represent a wide distribution of industries, of problems, of solutions.

There is a world of practical information about ordinary, day-to-day dealings between unions and management. The analysis of situations and solutions by the authors of the studies has been penetrating and sympathetic. Those of us who have had no practical contact with these matters can learn a bit of the human, common-sense way in which most conflicts can be ended. Generally speaking, peace is secured not so much by unyielding demands for rights as by simple discussion inspired by good-will and a desire to collaborate.

The introduction and conclusion to Father Land's report should be read, by all means. Sandwiched between are brief summaries of concrete cases culled from each report. All are worth reading and each presents different problems and solutions, but if time is short, it would be possible to read any one of these independently of the others.

Studies of this kind will probably appear frequently in the future. The effect they can have upon industrial relations is almost limitless.

THE ARTICLE BY Russell W. Davenport in the October issue of *Fortune* (a brief summary of the article is printed on the inside back cover of this issue of SOCIAL ORDER) marks a significant new departure for that magazine. The position recently taken by the *Harvard Business Review* in recent issues and now by *Fortune* brings a tremendously strong impact of humane thought to bear upon the minds of American businessmen. Again it is difficult to exaggerate the importance of this development. SOCIAL ORDER hopes to report at length on the Davenport articles soon.

GERMANY AND CHINA will be reported in the next issue of SOCIAL ORDER.

In Germany the new government, in which the Christian Democratic party has leadership, although not a clear majority, will try to carry on the policies inaugurated in the state governments last year. The experiment of Germany is of vast importance for the whole of Europe and for peace. The article in SOCIAL ORDER will be an analysis of the elections in August and of the present government.

A Jesuit dean in one of our Universities in China has written a lengthy letter about conditions under the Red occupation. His report is surprisingly optimistic. There has been no opposi-

tion to religion or religious leadership thus far and no insistence upon the teaching of Marxist doctrine. One reason for this conciliatory attitude may well be that much of the money that keeps the institution in existence comes from the Propagation of the Faith in Rome. The dean also reports a good spirit between students and faculty.

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MR. SCHUYLER'S LENGTHY article on the economic thought of Father Christian Pesch has been postponed until the December issue—or later. It contains an excellent analysis of his thought and sufficient biographical information to give you a good idea of what sort of man Father Pesch was. The article is one chapter of a book soon to be published under the editorship of Dr. Clement S. Mihanovich, chairman of the department of sociology at Saint Louis University.

•

FATHER ENRIGHT ("Labor School in India") has sent a very urgent request for whatever printed material I can gather together that will be useful in his labor school at Jamshedpur. If you have read his article you will understand that it must be extremely

simple. Small, illustrated pamphlets or charts would be most useful. I am gathering some material; if you can add some more, I'll be glad to include it in the package.

The cover story on India's Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru in the issue of *Time* for October 17 pointed out some of the economic and political problems that face the new country. Nehru desires quick industrialization but retards development by a lingering threat of nationalization. The huge Tata steel mill, locale of Father Enright's great experiment which is reported in this issue of *SOCIAL ORDER*, is typical of India's industrial present and its reluctance to expand is equally typical of the nation's uncertain future. In the midst of this titanic ferment the tiny school of Christian social thought just beginning at Jamshedpur may grow into a mighty force.

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DURING THE SUMMER Father Raymond Bernard ("Jim-Crow Vocations?" June, 1949) has gathered the names of about 40 other novitiates and seminaries which admit Negro candidates. The list was not ready for this issue of the magazine, but it will be printed as soon as possible.

F. J. C., S.J.

NOTICE

An article by Dr. Caroline F. Ware in the October, 1949, issue of *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* attempts to bring her 1946 study, *Labor Education in Universities*, up to date as of the summer of 1948. Data on Catholic labor schools are incomplete, partly because she studies only those schools under university auspices.

It would be a good thing if information on Jesuit labor schools could be similarly revised. If directors of all our schools would send to *SOCIAL ORDER* their current printed announcements and other useful information, it would be possible to compile a new list of institutions and activities.

Father Coressel gives us here the substance of a conference delivered to the community at Saint Mary's College.

SOCIAL SPIRITUALITY

Broader Aspects of the Principle and Foundation

Leo A. Coressel, S.J.

Saint Mary's College

THE TITLE of this article should not evoke thoughts of Divine Office chanted in common, of community singing at Mass or of a Missa recitata. All these forms of prayer, though excellent in themselves and much practiced in the Church, are not always and of sheer necessity the issue of social spirituality.

Social spirituality is here used in the sense opposed to an individualistic spirituality. The two are opposed to each other in somewhat the same way as social thinking is opposed to individualistic thinking.

Individualistic spirituality goes straight to God, setting up a personal relationship with Him. It stresses eternal salvation as man's main business in life, proposing the attainment or loss of eternal happiness as determinants of his final success or failure.

Excellent, but Incomplete

Such spirituality would seem to be in every way praiseworthy and to be reached from the housetops. It is, indeed, excellent, as far as it goes. The trouble is that it falls short of the

spirituality man was destined to make his own.

As a matter of fact, the fear has been expressed that this type of spirituality has too frequently dominated the thought of retreats to Ours and to externs. It is said that the comfortable *unum necessarium* of personal salvation has been allowed to throw out of focus the Commandment Christ placed second, but immediately after the first and greatest, namely, the love of neighbor. Zeal for souls has sometimes been proposed as a matter of generosity only.

This is not to say that these retreats have failed to stir up genuine zeal for souls. As a matter of fact the more general complaint is that we give ourselves excessively to our neighbor's welfare, even to personal spiritual loss. We practice charity towards the neighbor, but charity is not exactly the same thing as social mindedness.

Must Know Man

Individualistic spirituality falls short of that which man is intended to practice. One reason for this failure is that it is built upon an inadequate

realization of man's nature.

Social spirituality is based upon such a concept of man as is insisted upon in the present inter-province program of social reconstruction. In this concept man is looked upon not only as a contingent being but also as one who has a social nature, a domestic nature, a proprietary nature. Such a consideration ought to be the human basis of spirituality, for each in his own way, of all men, lay and religious, contemplative and active.

As a contingent being, man bears the relationship of utter dependence upon God. That is man's most fundamental relation. It involves creatorship and creaturehood and is the reason why God is to be worshipped. For this reason the relationship of creature to creator merits foremost consideration, understanding and appreciation. It must be the first of all relations to be put into right order. Unholy affections are to be cut off and an election made to go to God and abide with Him.

Ordered to Society

But man's other relationships should not be forgotten. Man has a social nature. He is destined to live in society. He has the relationship of rights and duties as regards his fellow men. He has the status of equality with them.

Since he proceeds from the hands of God endowed with a social nature, man is also obligated to social worship. This is the teaching of Pope Leo XIII in *Immortale Dei*; not only must man as an individual worship, but men, united into their social organization, the state, must offer joint, corporate worship to God, as well:

The State, constituted as it is, is clearly bound to act up to the manifold and weighty duties linking it to God by the public profession of religion. Nature and reason, which command every individual devoutly to worship God in holiness because we belong to Him and must return to Him, since from Him we came, bind also the civil community by a like law.

For men living in society are under the power of God no less than individuals are, and society, no less than individuals, owes gratitude to God.

Man has a domestic nature. He is destined to live in the family. There he is to reach the greatest perfection with which nature can equip him. Hence arise relationships between husband and wife, parent and child.

Man has a proprietary nature. He has the relationship of steward over non-rational beings, over property and money.

Social Way to God

This is the way God made man. Man has been endowed with a nature about which more can be said than that it is contingent; it is also social: it has exigencies toward a state-community, toward a family; toward property. Our thinking and our spirituality must be based upon these facts if we would be true to man as he is.

If we now turn to the *Spiritual Exercises* of Saint Ignatius, we shall be able to see how these truths may be applied in the very First Principle and Foundation. Man was created to praise, reverence and serve God and by this means to save his soul.

Man was created. He was created with all of the relationships we have already noted: he is a contingent being, a social being (this term will be used to refer to his need for life in the large society of the state), a domestic being, a proprietary being. And as such, man is to praise, reverence and serve God: as contingent, as social, as domestic, as proprietary, man is to save his soul.

Two-Fold Judgment

Man stands before God in worship not as an individual only, but as a social being, as a member of societies. As a member of societies each individual has rights and duties as regard his fellowmen. As a member of societies man must work out his salvation

nd appear before the judgment seat of God.

Saint Thomas Aquinas says:

Each man is both an individual person and a part of the whole human race. Wherefore a twofold judgment is due to him. One, the particular judgment, is that to which he will be subjected [immediately] after death.... The other judgment [the general judgment] will be passed on him as a part of the human race. (*Summa Theologica*, Suppl., q. 88, al, ad 1).

The creation of spiritual social-mindedness will consist in great measure in imparting a sense of natural and supernatural solidarity with our fellowmen. To effect this, various devices must be employed. Once the effect is accomplished, there should result an overflow of personal sanctity into work for the salvation of the neighbor in all those fields where his salvation is furthered.

We may now complete this brief survey of social spirituality in the First Principle and Foundation by a consideration of the purpose of creatures. "And the other things on the face of the earth were created for man's sake and in order to aid him in the prosecution of the end for which he was created." A consideration of this truth will do much to show how a social spirituality can activate the social postolate.

Role of the Natural

In the divine plan the most humble and modest material things of earth are destined to serve man and to help him in his journey to God.

"Just as in the living organism," says Pope Pius XI, "it is impossible to provide for the good of the whole, unless each single part and each individual member is given what it needs for the exercise of its proper functions, so it is impossible to care for the social organism and the good of society as a unit unless each single part and each individual member—that is to say, each individual man in the dignity of his human personality — is supplied with all that is necessary for his social functions." (*Divini Redemptoris*, n. 51).

Now we know that social and economic conditions are such as to deprive countless individuals of the temporal happiness which is their due. False philosophies of man and of life are in vogue which imperil eternal salvation. Displaced persons, those who are insecure as to work, salary, home, those deprived of civil rights, the sick, poor, the aged, truly vast portions of humanity are unable to make use of creatures as God intended them to use them. The very structure of liberalistic and secularized society contains the seeds of disintegration and collapse.

More than 18 years ago Pope Pius XI thought the matter urgent. He said then:

... unless serious attempts are made, with all energy and without delay, to put them [Christian social principles] into practice, let nobody persuade himself that the peace and tranquillity of human society can be effectively defended against the forces of revolution. (*Quadragesimo Anno*, n. 62).

Part of Apostolate

The priest or religious whose spirituality is social will be moved to go to the rescue of suffering humanity. He will understand that if he wishes to work for the salvation of the neighbor in 1949 he must alleviate the condition that makes salvation so perilous in these days. Since the temporal order is in such a state as to make the working of the spiritual very difficult, if not impossible, he will strive for the establishment of justice and charity in government, in the family, in business.

Pope Pius tells us that "it is of the essence of social justice to demand from each individual all that is necessary for the common good" (*Divini Redemptoris*, n. 51). Hence the priest or religious will inevitably engage in the social apostolate. He will combat false ideologies. He will strive to establish God's plan in the social, economic and political life of the world. His purpose will be to induce condi-

tions such as will help man to work out his salvation.

From all this, two things should be clear.

Conclusions

First, there is a social spirituality for Jesuits, based upon an adequate understanding of the First Principle and Foundation. Second, this social spirituality is the inspiration of social mindedness, social consciousness and social action. There is no question here of general zeal for souls. It is a matter of zeal for souls in line with the demands of social justice in 1949.

It would be erroneous to conclude from what has been said here that each and every Jesuit must engage in the formal teaching of Catholic social thought in our schools or through our other media of communication, that they must conduct labor schools or engage in other forms of social action. The first and foremost thing each can

do is pray. He can offer his prayer and work and sufferings for the social apostolate.

Almost equally important, he can orient his own personal spirituality and his general idea of Christian spirituality toward the perfecting of social relationships. He can build and can guide and encourage others in the building of a social spirituality.

As for the Fathers, the General Congregation, held in 1946, in its decree 29, has this to say:

The Fathers, too, must *all* realize that in their spiritual ministries, in sermons, in giving the Spiritual Exercises, in the teaching of youth, in the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin and other organizations connected with us, they can and ought to promote a social apostolate; explaining the social doctrine of the Church, instructing the faithful to be social minded in their practices of justice and charity, and finally, undertaking social works with the cooperation of societies affiliated to us.



The Exercises and the Apostolate

Whether, then, we desire to provide human society, sick as it is in body and mind, with more successful remedies and to bring back the wandering multitudes to the mansions of the Father, or to help those souls which aspire to walk more perfect paths, or whether we wish to repair the losses which our Society, in more than one place, has suffered either through the inclination of fallen nature, or from the harsh circumstances of war, dispersion, poverty and persecution, we must go to the Spiritual Exercises and draw forth for ourselves that spirit which our holy father used to call "the internal law of charity," and, thereafter, spread it abroad among the rest of men.

V. R. J. B. Janssens

Fourth Centenary of Spiritual Exercises

Last month Father McKeon briefly reviewed his experience in the social apostolate. Father Enright, who has been appointed to organize a labor school in the Maryland province Mission of Jamshedpur, recounts the beginnings there.

LABOR SCHOOL IN INDIA

Christian Principles for India's Industrial Workers

Thomas Q. Enright, S.J.

Jamshedpur, Bihar, India

I AM in actu primo proximo to starting my retreat at St. Xavier's, Calcutta. Since there will hardly be time afterward to get anything written about the new Labor Institute, I had better try to get some details on paper now. What I hope to do is to give you some idea of the background necessary for understanding our position and a very general view of the problems confronting us.

Our mission center is the city of Jamshedpur (if it appears on your maps, it is most likely called, Tatanagar). Jamshedpur is in the district of Singhbhum, about 150 miles east and slightly north of Calcutta. The new mission comprises the two south-eastern districts of the entirely landlocked province of Bihar and was formerly part of the Belgian Jesuit mission of Ranchi. The territory covers about 8,660 square miles.

There are about 4,400,000 people in the two districts, for the most part Hindu, but there are also 1,347,000 aboriginals and almost 10,000 Cath-

olics. The chief languages of the area are Hindu, Bengali, and Oriya.

Rich Mineral Area

The whole mission lies on the Chota Nagpur plateau, which has the finest coal and the largest output of India. In the same region are also India's richest iron deposits. It is for this reason that the great Tata Iron and Steel works are located in the city of Jamshedpur.

Fifty years ago the area around the city was a primitive jungle. In 1911, when the iron works started, Jamshedpur was a little town with less than 7,000 residents. Today it has grown tremendously and is larger than the provincial capital of Bihar, which is Patna. Although the present population is 200,000 and it is a surprisingly modern city, just a few miles outside the city you leave the twentieth century and find all of India's primitive customs and usages.

Jamshedpur is a proprietary industrial town, entirely owned by the Tata

Iron and Steel Company. The Company has grown tremendously in the 38 years of its existence; originally it employed about 7,000 workers; today there are well over 55,000. Some associated companies have been established on land leased to them by the Steel Company, which also supplies them with water, power and their principal raw materials.

The huge growth, which is bound to continue in the future, has made the city something of a rail center, and, since the railroads are the life-lines of the two districts, the mission has developed the unique activity of railroad chaplaincies to serve the Catholics who have settled along the routes of the railroads for which they work.

Unions Sprang Up

Modern industrial growth has inevitably meant trade-union organization, and there is in Jamshedpur a well-established, though poorly organized union. In fact there are two, but one is active only as a spur to the other and has a hold only in one company. The latter is the Socialist Union, which recently won control of the workers in the Indian Wire Products Company at Golmuri, a suburb.

Both unions are more or less linked with political parties. The socialists, naturally, with socialist politicians; the larger union, the Tata Workers Union (TWU), is allied with — or affiliated with — (the relationship is not too clear) the Congress Party. Communists have no union and no official standing in the area. As yet they control no union nor even any branch, although there are Communists in the district.

Union Controls Area

The TWU claims to have a membership of 38,000 steelworkers. This figure has been questioned, and it may well be that the more correct number would be about one-third of this claim.

However, the President of the TWU and the executive board also have control of about 35 other unions, all of which have a certain amount of autonomy. These other unions comprise such groups as the miners' unions at Gua, Noamundi, Moubhandar (the Noamundi mines alone are directly owned by Tata), the unions at the copper works in Ghatsila, ore foundries and mines in the Mayurbhanj state just to the south, tram and transport workers in the Jamshedpur area. All in all these unions comprise a respectable group, concentrated, in large part around Jamshedpur and including all the workers from various industries.

Organizationally, however, the union is a sprawling thing. There is really no structure, there is merely Michael John, TWU president, and his Board, with heads in the various unions. Control of the whole group is never sure, and if Communists wanted to take over, there would be little to stop them.

Another important factor that must be taken into account is that the union membership is all of the laboring class, and so, with about 20 exceptions, are their leaders. This has a much greater significance in India than it would have in the United States or in almost any other country. It means practically a total lack of education, either formal or acquired by experience. The workers do almost no reading; they have no real recreation, no incentive for self-improvement and no initiative.

Workers Very Poor

Since industrialization is a comparatively recent development in India, there is no tradition of unionism and and no experience upon which to draw. The ordinary laborer lives always on the brink of destitution and is, consequently, engrossed in the problems of tomorrow, not of next year. He saves nothing and is generally without money

at all for three weeks out of four in a month. More than 80 per cent of them are in perpetual debt to the "Khabulies" or sharp moneylenders, who, I might add, are among the most interesting figures in India.

Now how did the idea of a school start? As far as the Jesuits are concerned, it began back in Maryland, when we got the news of the new mission field. It didn't take a consultors' meeting to reach the conclusion that the new field was certainly an invitation to "go to the worker." We gathered books and information on social problems and on this particular industry so as to be prepared for whatever might come.

However, neither Superiors nor missionaries were prepared to take up the work immediately. Tentative plans were made to open up a sort of reading room and perhaps to initiate a course of lectures on social topics at some future date, when we had acquired more knowledge of conditions among the workers.

Labor Seeks School

But labor itself made the first move.

In January, 1949, a delegation from the union paid a visit to Father vice-superior. They wanted to inquire about the possibilities of opening up a trade-unions school for labor. The visit to Jesuit authorities was inspired by one man, Mr. James Oomrigar, a remarkably talented young union leader, who was working as a sort of glorified shop-steward for the entire industry.

Somehow Oomrigar had read about our labor schools in the States. He knew particularly about Xavier's in New York and had been in correspondence with Father Phil Carey, seeking suggestions about schools for India. Father Carey, in turn, had written to the Jesuits in Jamshedpur about young Oomrigar, who, by the by, is now in the States on a four-year scholarship, studying at Cornell University. During

his stay there he will probably be visiting most of our labor schools.

The delegation which came to the Jesuit residence was informed that the matter would be considered. At a meeting of all the missionaries the entire question was discussed and the approval of the mission consultors sought. As a beginning they thought that a lecture course might be most feasible. Then I was given the job of making further investigations.

My first conversations were with Mr. Gopal and Mr. John, who are secretary and president, respectively, of the union. Then I discussed the proposal with representatives of the companies, with a Mr. Haley, an American from Indiana, who is Tata works superintendent, and with Sir Jehangir Ghandi, the general manager of TISCO, and with officials of several other subsidiary companies.

Want Basic Courses

It soon became clear that a lecture series would not meet the need. The M. E. Perin Memorial Lectures (nine, given annually up to 1947) had never been successful, mainly because labor was not at all interested in lectures, even though the topic was industrial relations. The workers were cold to lectures and wouldn't have understood them if they had attended.

What labor leaders were interested in was some way of getting a better, more closely knit organization, of combatting the threat of communist infiltration (which was then in the whispering-campaign stage and causing considerable dissension in the ranks), and of disseminating at least the rudiments of knowledge about collective bargaining, giving their workers the basic tools with which to work.

Certainly this was all that we were prepared to give them, and until both they and we had learned these elements thoroughly it was impossible to think of giving them any higher principles.

But we did think that we would be able to give them certain elementary ideas and techniques which would help to bring about a better understanding of unionism and of industrial relations.

Management Approves

Management believed that the whole idea was good and that our proposal would possibly be more successful than the lecture series. They also admitted that not only should labor have such a course, *but that management* needed it also, particularly those elements of management which dealt directly with labor.

We were very fortunate in having close at hand Mr. S. C. Joshi, a director of Calcutta University and until recently the Labor Commissioner for the Central Government. He has been interested in labor for the past 20 years or so and is probably one of the few outstanding authorities in India.

I visited him for several discussions. He welcomed me and the proposal of the labor school enthusiastically and offered to teach Indian Labor law and labor history and to help out in any other way possible. Actually he has been the pillar or corner-stone of the whole business; he welcomes the idea as being a truly great step ahead in a new era and as a fulfillment of a desperate need.

Despite all this approval it is unlikely that we shall be swamped with applications for enrollment in the new school. Probably the work will be a slow, uphill grind for a few years. Since the educational level of the workers is so low, they are neither eager to learn nor capable of acquiring very much. Furthermore, in a proprietary town, where the Company controls just about everything, operating a labor school means walking a tight rope, and we shall certainly be open to attack from both sides. Fully to appreciate what that means you would have to know India.

Unionism Not Developed

One can hardly say that the trade unions in India are strong. Most of them, because of a lack of funds, are little more than "strike committees." The rank and file of labor look to them for improvement of their financial condition—and that is all. When there is no question of a strike, membership of the union falls off. As the unions weaken, management often succumbs to the temptation to take advantage of the situation until a situation is brought about which stirs up dissatisfaction and again strengthens the union. And so it goes.

A natural result is that labor leaders tend to stress ideas which will keep the workers keyed up. Under such circumstances there is always a high potential danger both of industrial unrest and of subversive activity.

The union leaders realize this danger. But they also realize that as long as they have an unenlightened rank and file there is almost no other way to get results. There is no point of cohesion except dissatisfaction. They cannot develop any effective solidarity or plan any long-range union improvements until the rank and file have been educated out of their appalling ignorance, apathy, prejudices and extremely limited social outlook.

Lack Humane Ideas

The school we have begun has all of the handicaps that such a school would have in the Carolina mountain fastnesses. In addition to these difficulties, we do not have the sine-quanon mentioned by all our Catholic labor schools in their literature or in early lectures, the idea that at least under God all men are created equal. The prime tenet of the majority here is precisely the opposite. All men are not created equal, but through the vicissitudes of their fate they struggle upward, or are cast down lower as a

punishment.

Among the workers there are sharp social and political differences, as well. They vary widely in language, religion and caste. At the present time they are being further divided by political theories and ideologies, which become quickly mere slogans to draw the masses of workers from one party to another; the largest will always be the one which promises most, last.

Communists, so far, have had little success beyond that of creating disturbance. They work more to disintegrate the present unions and to reduce the condition of the laborer still further, in order to bring about "proletarian solidarity," a thing which has not yet taken hold in the consciousness of the people. (Yet proletarian group consciousness is rapidly taking shape as a result of the almost universal dissatisfaction with the results of political "home rule").

Aim to Train Leaders

Consequently, what we hope to do is this: give the leaders of labor at least the elementary knowledge of some basic ideas in sociology, ethics, economics; put before them in considerable detail the structure and function of existing labor organizations in other parts of the world; and give them detailed expositions of their purposes and techniques. It will then be necessary to help them introduce some organization into their bodies and to assist in preparing potential leaders for the job of educating the masses to a broader social outlook.

Management also needs a broader social outlook—it can gain also by a closer scrutiny of the causes of unrest, by a change of attitude toward the worker, recognizing that he is a man, after all—whatever they may think of the caste into which he was created. They must realize, too, that industrial peace, while necessitating many con-

cessions on their part, will, in the long run, pay handsome dividends.

This last conviction will not be easy to develop. I hardly think it can be said that up to the present industrial unrest has cost industry very much. The workers have been pretty consistent losers in a close race. Collective bargaining is unknown here; nor, as a matter of fact, is the contract system. When you hear of the contract system here, what is meant is the *contractor* system, wherein unskilled, and sometimes even skilled labor, is hired by means of a contractor, who furnishes the required number of men. He is paid a flat sum for his men and, of course, gives wages sharply under the wages of the permanent laborer, even though the two may work side by side. This system is a big saving to any management.

Courses Planned

The courses in our school will be divided into two semesters of three months each. We shall have three periods of class on two days of each week. "Labor Law in India" will be a compulsory course and will be taught by Mr. S. C. Joshi, a Hindu Brahmin from Madras and the expert in Indian Labor matters whom I mentioned earlier.

The other compulsory course is one in "Labor Relations," a subject which is made deliberately wide. It will be taught by Father Thomas O. Enright, a Catholic Brahmin from Bethlehem, Pa., no expert in anything.

Outside of these two obligatory classes there are a number of electives: Father John E. Holland will teach basic economics; Father James J. McGinley, logic and psychology. Mr. James V. Keogh, S.J., will handle public speaking in English, while Mr. Ramchandra, another Brahmin from Madras, will take care of Hindi public speaking. Parliamentary law will be taught by Mr. Mayers, an Anglo-Indian, and another Anglo-Indian, Mr.

Rose-Meyer will teach business English. A Parsee, Mr. Mathur, teaches public relations; Mr. D'Souza, a Goan, will teach democratic methods. In addition to the regular classes we hope to use guest speakers as often as feasible.

One of the Jesuits assigned to the Jamshedpur mission, Father John J. Blandin, is now teaching at Ranchi. When he returns he will teach a course in social reconstruction (on the encyclicals) and another on cooperatives. I shall probably also teach courses in the rudiments of sociology and in labor organization and objectives.

City Gives School

We have managed to get the use of one part of a high school building situated conveniently in the center of the town for two nights a week. In addition to classrooms, we are permitted to use a large hall. The school has also opened a pitiful little office in a hotel across the street from the high school building. In the office we have gathered a small supply of books and pamphlets for the use of those who can read.

There will be serious difficulties about attendance, not only from the ignorance and apathy of workers, but from practical difficulties rising from the shift system. The plants are worked in three shifts which are changed weekly. This system will present a big problem to anyone who hopes to be regular in attendance at the classes.

Michael John, the president of the union, and its secretary are both reasonably enthusiastic about the courses, but at best we can expect only about 25 students from union ranks. More would be willing to enroll, but they would not be up to the necessary intellectual level. Mr. John, by the way, is a Catholic. He comes of ancient Catholic stock. For this very reason he is not figuring as prominently in the set-up as he would like or as we

would like to have him.

Communism feeds on everything, and more damage might be done than good if the union began to think he was pushing them in the direction of "the Fathers."

In Bihar the Fathers are not exactly personae gratae; both Ranchi and Jamshedpur have held back on visas thus far, and it looks as though difficult times might be approaching. Consequently, anything that might give critics a handle against Mr. John must be avoided. He became head of the union only recently, about two years ago. The former, almost Ghandi-like leader, Abdul Bari, a Muslim, was murdered, and Mr. John, who had been secretary, moved up. The present secretary is Mr. S. Gopal, a Bengali.

Wages Low

It might be of use to give you some idea of the wages received by workers. I might say that a skilled roller in the rolling mills makes about 220 rupees a month, all told. The rupee is pegged at 3.2 to the dollar, but has a purchasing value about equivalent to 25 cents. Ordinary unskilled laborers make about 78 rupees monthly; their take-home pay might come to about 62 rupees. Coolies get about 50 rupees a month. Rejas, coolie-class women who carry burdens upon their heads, get less than a rupee a day in wages, but in addition of bonus, allowances bring their income to about 45 rupees a month. The law states that they are not to carry more than an 85-pound load, but they do twice as well as that. Wheelbarrows, incidentally, are absolutely unknown.

By the way of comparison: one gallon of gasoline costs two rupees, and a very small loaf of bread, about the size of a dozen of Father Lord's pamphlets, costs one-third of a rupee.

Labor efficiently is extremely low in Indian factories and mills. Here in Jamshedpur it requires about seven

times the number of workmen to do the same job done in the steel mills in the States. If the rolling mills at Gary, Indiana, have about 270 men on a job, here they will have 1,500. Most of these, however, will be very poorly paid coolies, rejas or khalasie, the latter one step above a coolie. All this is due to ordinary inefficiency, lack of practical equipment, poor nourishment, lack of incentive. The best workmen

are the Sikhs, from the Punjab regions. They are also the best eaters in India, a factor that means much.

That is the way we start, with limited facilities, facing great difficulties. It may be that we shall not succeed at first, but we shall try again. We can at least say that Catholic labor education has come to Jamshedpur, and that its only objective is the social progress of the worker and the area.



Church and Social Reform

In the country of Bishop William Emmanuel von Ketteler, no man can dare accuse the Church of not bearing in her mind and in her heart the problem of the workers and, indeed, the entire social question in general. Since Our predecessor, Leo XIII, some sixty years ago, issued the encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*, few problems have drawn the solicitude of the Supreme Pastors of the Church more than the social question. All that they could do to aid in the solution, or at least in the mitigation of social inequalities, they have done.

What is important is that the social doctrine of the Church should become the patrimony of the Christian conscience, and that this doctrine be translated into action. But social needs demand sacrifices from all those who have a stake in society. These sacrifices must be made. They can be postponed less today than ever before.

Pius XII to the *Katholikentag*

Mr. Collins offers some comments and a outline of the present inter-scholastic debate topic on the Presidential elections.

HIGH SCHOOL DEBATE TOPIC

Change Method of Electing U. S. President

T. Byron Collins, S.J.

Weston College

ON FIRST thought, it may seem that the subject of this article is not of great interest to Jesuit readers. It may be of use to debate moderators, but others cannot be bothered with debates.

But the topic assigned for inter-scholastic debate this year is one that has great practical importance for every American. The present electoral system and possible revisions of it are a concern of any intelligent American Catholic.

Catholics in this country are a minority group. The present system of electing our President gives no weight whatever to the vote of a minority group, however large or small the minority may be. Hence, Catholics, as a group, can bring no pressure to bear on the election of a President. This may be good or bad, depending largely upon the social framework of one's mind.

Does Not Show Vote

But aside from the political needs of Catholics, it must still be admitted that the present electoral procedure denies a fundamental postulate of democracy. The system does not truly represent the vote of the people.

In the November, 1948, presidential election it was possible for a swing of only 35,000 votes in Illinois, Ohio and California to have turned the election from Truman to Dewey. This would have been achieved, despite the fact that Truman held a 2,000,000 vote lead over Dewey throughout the country. If these states had gone Republican, their electoral votes would have been sufficient to give that party a political victory.

Hearings before a sub-committee of the House Committee on the Judiciary, held last February, revealed the concern of many persons about the outmoded method of selecting a president which is still in use in the United States.

1949-50 Debate Topic

This important question has been selected as the inter-scholastic debate topic for the school year, 1949-50. The proposition is, "Resolved, That the President of the United States should be elected by the direct vote of the people."

The Constitution of the United States provides that the President is to be chosen by the vote of the members of the Electoral College. The College is constituted of members from each state of the union; the state has as many

electors as it has delegates in the House of Representatives.

The United States Supreme Court has given to the State legislatures the exclusive power to decide the manner in which electors shall be chosen. The method varies considerably among the states.

The following list indicates the various methods that have been devised in the states:

1. In 27 states, electors are nominated by the state conventions of each party.
2. In ten states, electors are chosen by party organizations.
3. In seven states, electors must be nominated in the primary elections.
4. In three states, electors may be nominated by either the primary or the convention method.
5. In one state, Pennsylvania, the presidential nominees appoint their own electors.

Inequality Clause

The electors within a state are divided, then, into two equal groups; or it might better be said that there are two groups of electors. In almost all cases, one group of electors is irrevocably committed to one candidate, the other group to the other candidate. This is the case since each elector designated by one of the two political parties is obliged to vote for the Presidential candidate nominated by his party: either by law (as is the case in 21 states) or by strong tradition in the rest. There have, of course, been examples of electors who refused to vote for the candidate for whom they were chosen.

Debate Outlines

The following outlines may be of use to those who wish to use this topic in class work, as well as to the debate moderator.

“Resolved, That the President of the

United States Should Be Elected by the Direct Vote of the People.”

Affirmative Case

I. Necessity of change from the present system of selecting a President.¹

- A. The condition which made it originally useful (representation for the uneducated mass of citizens by an educated elector) has since largely ceased to exist.
- B. The electoral college system is wasteful of time, money, men.
- C. The history of our electoral system reveals occasional misrepresentations:

1. In the election of 1800, Jefferson and Burr (the Republican party) held a plurality over Adams and Pinkney (the Federalist party), but a deadlock in the electoral college threw the election into the House.
2. John Quincy Adams was elected president in 1824, although Andrew Jackson had a plurality of the popular vote.
3. The minority choice, Hayes, was again elected by the college in 1876, over Tilden, who received a plurality of popular votes.
3. Again in 1888, the candidate with a plurality of votes, Cleveland, lost to Harrison, the minority choice.
5. Four per cent of the votes in one state determined the election of Wilson over Hughes in 1916. Wilson, however, held a nation-wide plurality also.
6. A change of 35,000 votes in three states, Illinois, Ohio and California would have been sufficient to elect Dewey over

¹ Edward W. Berbusse, S.J., “Seminar on the American Electoral College,” lecture notes, Georgetown University, Washington, D. C., 1949.

Truman in 1948, although Truman held a 2,000,000 plurality.

II. Alternate Plan: Election of the President by direct vote of the people.

- A. It would encourage a greater attendance at the polls.
- B. It would render political party machines antiquated.
- C. It would more truly represent national opinion.

Negative Plan

- I. The necessity of change from the present system is granted.
- II. But the change to direct election is infeasible. It would not achieve its purpose of representing the will of the people. Historical records prove that ordinarily about 50 per cent of eligible voters ever cast their votes.
- III. The negative proposes the "Lea-Gossett Plan."²

A. This gives the candidates a share of the electoral vote in proportion to the popular votes received by each candidate.

B. The smaller states keep their electoral advantage. In keeping their two-vote advantage they are not outweighed so badly by larger states.

Debate Manuals

It is perhaps not necessary to refer to the commonly-used manuals. These will be known to moderators. A number are published each year on the college and high-school propositions.

The two most widely used of these probably are the following: J. Weston Walch, Publisher, Portland, Maine; and Mid-West Debate Bureau, Jacksonville, Illinois.

² This plan, with a discussion of its value, appears in *Hearings* before Sub-Committee No. 1, Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, 81st Congress, 1st Session, Washington, 1949.

Toward Human Unity

First, man a family, then man a tribe, then, after long centuries, man a nation, such were the stages toward unity. . . .

Since the first moment of its existence, humanity has been on the march toward unity. The road has been strewn with reefs; disasters have been numerous. There have been set-backs; there have been regressions. The road is not straight and broad; it is bordered with precipices. . . .

Not in one day alone have the rivers hollowed out their bed. Not in one year alone have the rivers and the mountains obeyed the law which they are unable to escape, but men are free, and so are able to hinder their destiny and retard the coming of the kingdom of God.

In spite of weakness, ignorance and pride, which are formidable hindrances, God carries out His work of mercy and love. Christianity has not said its last word. It is an unceasing call to unity.

J. -G. Cardinal Saliège
Who Shall Bear the Flame?

The National Planning Association is studying the causes of industrial peace. Father Land, who is at work on a related research project, reports on five of the studies.

CAUSES OF INDUSTRIAL PEACE

N. P. A. Seeks Formulas for Good Working Relationships

Philip S. Land, S.J.

ISS

CAN GOOD industrial relations exist in modern business? Are there good industrial relations today? When management must admit unions to debate on decisions formerly theirs alone, when wage increases must sometimes be geared to political crises of the union, when expensive programs of worker security must be reluctantly accepted, when there is anxiety about future union demands, can management keep its level keel in negotiations? When the union must give up the right to represent foremen, when it must make demands to protect itself from rival unions, when it is constantly insecure because of technological change, when it is not even sure of management's future good will, can unions sit down peaceably to discuss problems?

The answer to all these questions is Yes. It is possible under these or even more trying conflicts to have good industrial relations. Many unions and many companies have succeeded in

segregating areas of non-conflicting interests from areas of conflict. In the former areas the two parties can cooperate readily; in the latter they compromise.

N.P.A. Studies Peace

This, in substance, is what is learned from the five Case Studies of Causes of Industrial Peace thus far issued by the National Planning Association. How did the studies start? Four years ago, Clinton S. Golden¹ suggested that instead of the perennial inquiries into causes of industrial conflict, we ought to be discovering how much peace there is and what makes for peace. The N.P.A. (Mr. Golden is a member of the board of trustees) responded by setting up a board in 1947 to begin such an inquiry. Twenty-nine leaders

¹ Vice-chairman of Economic Cooperation Administration, Adviser on Labor Policy; co-author with Harold Ruttenberg of *Dynamics of Industrial Democracy*, formerly prominently associated with Philip Murray in C. I. O.

from labor, business and professional consultants made up the board.

Mr. Golden gives us the following details about the studies finally set afoot.² Five conditions were required for a firm to qualify: 1. the firm must be of substantial size, 2. in a strategic industry, 3. not possessed of a monopoly position permitting it to "buy peace at any price," 4. its peaceful relations not ascribable to a personality, 5. the problems solved representative of important industrial relations. These conditions, of course, are in addition to a record of good relations. Since the committee did not believe occasional strikes are necessarily indicative of bad labor relations, this possibility did not disqualify a company for study.

Many Cases Available

It is noteworthy that from the 10,000 leaders of industry, labor and industrial relations consulted, 1,000 nominations of companies for study were forthcoming. Presumably the thousand had achieved enough of good industrial relations to merit study. If this be so, it is an encouraging fact in itself.

Because strikes which "stem from honest difference of opinion and occur,

so to speak, within the collective bargaining framework" do not prevent good relations, quantitative measurement of strikes was less important than the answers to such questions as: How much and what kind of freedom does the employer enjoy in his relationship with the union? How much mutual confidence have both parties in each other? Have the company, the union, and the public gained or lost?

Since the public is being told enough about the collective-bargaining situations interrupted by strikes, the N.P.A. set out to tell about the 24 out of every 25 firms which manage peaceful relationships. Finally, whereas past emphasis has been directed toward peace in the sense of reconciliation and settlement of *strife*, the N.P.A. examines the circumstances and *peaceful processes of working relationships*.

This report³ will now proceed by, 1. listing general conclusions to be drawn from the studies, 2. detailing some of the typical problems faced and solved (This section will at the same time serve to illustrate the general conclusions), 3. raising a few questions as to validity of the studies, 4. concluding in brief.

General Conclusions

In a nutshell, the five studies agreed that constructive attitudes on both sides are needed for, and did achieve, growth in good industrial relations. Constructive attitudes made possible cooperation in the areas of common interest, and compromise in the inevitable areas of conflicting interests. Pious affirmations, slogans, gadgets, paint and prettifying of premises do not figure in these reports. Neither does weakness or a "peace at any price" persuasion.

³ To prevent the report from growing inordinately long, readers interested in details of the nature of the business and character of the union involved will be directed to the studies themselves.

² *Causes of Industrial Peace Under Collective Bargaining*, National Planning Association. (Cases Studies 1-5). Washington, D. C., 1948-49. \$1.00 each. (1) *Crown-Zellerbach and the Pacific Coast Pulp and Paper Industry and the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Workers and International Brotherhood of Paper Makers*, by Clark Kerr and Roger Randall. (2) *The Libby-Owens-Ford Glass Company and the Federation of Glass Ceramic and Silica Sand Workers of America*, by Frederick H. Harbison and King Carr. (3) *The Dewey and Almy Chemical Company and the International Chemical Workers Union*, by Douglas McGregor and Joseph N. Scanlan. (4) *Hickey-Freeman and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America*, by Donald B. Straus. (5) *Sharon Steel Corporation and the United Steelworkers of America*, by J. Wade Miller.

This core of agreed findings we can now expand into the following, over-all conclusions derived from each of the studies.

1. While a prosperous economic environment favored good relations, it could not account for them. The same is true of the personalities in union and management.

2. There was no magic formula. Controlling factor was sincere acceptance of each other and mutual trust. Company believes in true collective bargaining, wants a strong, secure union, considers the union an asset and encourages its work force to join. It knows that union security frees union heads from a fearful preoccupation with shortrun interests of union rank and file. From its side the unions believe in operation of the business by its owners, in union responsibility for maintenance of contractual obligations, for keeping down grievances, for high productivity (its own self-interest also demands this), for selling to the membership necessities of technological change. The unions studied did not destroy worker loyalty to employer. They kept national political issues out of the collective-bargaining process. There were no serious ideological conflicts, inter-union or between management and union.

3. High social skills are needed on both sides, and in greater or lesser degree were found in the cases. (In *Crown-Zellerbach*, management led the way; in *Hickey-Freeman*, labor in the person of Sidney Hillman. Representing some of the social skills, the following procedures were found in each study: In bargaining, management avoids legalism and even the use of lawyers. The union reciprocates. Approach to issues is not in terms of definite abstract rights and prerogatives, but rather is a concrete problem-solving. Prompted by trust, neither side felt a need to define "rights." Though there was a firm stand taken

on particular concrete demands, there was a wide sharing of power. The principals on both sides conducted the negotiations. The necessary authority to carry out decisions was in the hands of those having responsibility, i.e. plant managers and local union officials.

4. These attitudes and social skills worked themselves out into the following day-to-day practices, again in each case. Top management and the international or district union organization encouraged day-to-day collective bargaining at local plant level. Management quickly learned that all of the managerial force down to and including the foreman had to interest itself in good relations and accept collective bargaining. There was extensive consultation and sharing of information, management using the union as a chief means of communication with its employees. Management further put the responsibility for good industrial relations in the hands of *line* supervisors, relegating staff personnel administrators to an advisory capacity. Grievances were settled, insofar as possible, on the spot, at once and informally.

Large Units Successful

It is noteworthy that the four companies having something of industry-wide or region-wide bargaining found the relationship satisfactory. Finally, the studies all agreed that the experiences of these five firms are not peculiar to the case studied, but are transferable. This possibility of transfer relates to two situations. The first is transfer within the enterprise from prosperous times to deep recession or depression; the second is transfer from the enterprise to other firms within the industry or even to firms of other industries.

To the first question of transfer—inevitably to be raised by students of these problems—the authors answer that, given the proper attitudes, developing social skills will be applied

to problems only relatively more serious in the case of recession or depression than those already met and solved. Three of the case studies are carried through one or two depressions.

The second merely requires mutual desire of the leaders in other enterprises to learn as the leaders of our cases learned. Given such willingness, attitudes and skills will be developed, and procedures discovered which are adaptable to the new or peculiar industrial setup.

Easier in Small Firms

It is acknowledged, however, that it is much easier in a small plant where top management can control middle and lower management and more easily impose top management's determination to get along with the union; and where union leaders can more easily control their shop stewards and communicate to rank and file an understanding of management's position and decisions. The big power centers, by contrast, have problems of greater magnitude.

Chiefly at issue is economic and political compatibility which must emerge from the operations of the two partners. In each of the five cases the authors found such compatibility. This compatibility stemmed from recognition of political and economic necessities of one partner by the other. The problem of compatibility obviously is not impossible to solve in bigger business or in powerful key industries. Indeed, economic compatibility may well be simpler, provided impossible demands are not made upon the enterprise. But problems of political compatibility rise almost in direct proportion to size of the enterprise and consequent power to be wielded.

To return to our "nutshell" summary, *attitudes* are clearly the controlling feature, —not procedures, not environment, not size of enterprise. Contradictory procedures — incentive wage

versus stable wage, formal grievance procedure versus informal, close adherence to the contract versus a virtual ignoring of it—were made to yield equally good results. Furthermore, given the existence of correct attitudes, procedures regarded as dangerous for one or the other party, were actually entered upon without fear of abuse, e.g. incentive wage, by-passing of local management or lower management by top management, and of local union officials by international representatives; indifference of management to setting down in writing a list of its prerogatives.

Typical Problems

We are now ready to relate in some detail a few of the typical problems faced and solved.

1. Crown-Zellerbach

Turning to the first study, it should be noted at the outset that in considerable measure what was found to be true of the leader of the Pacific Coast Pulp and Paper Industry was true of the rest of the west coast producers. However, the dominating figures in achieving good industrial relations in the industry were Mr. Zellerbach and Mr. Heron.⁴ Heron is author of several books on industrial relations. (*Sharing Information With Employees, Why Men Work, Beyond Collective Bargaining*). Management in this case led the union, and its leadership was as skilled as it was highly principled.

Management, from the beginning, understood what a union is, what it stands for, what its needs are, the importance of communication with its workers through their union. It very acutely analyzed the role of the foreman, the necessity of his sharing top management's attitude toward workers, of his having the requisite authority

⁴ Industrial-relations policies have become identified with Mr. Heron because of his publications. But Mr. Zellerbach's part as president has been no less significant.

to carry out his function as immediate executor of work assignment and work policy.

Concerning communications, Mr. Heron says: "Great reliance is placed in a more free exchange of knowledge by and between management and men. . . . The company wishes to get information . . . to the man who works." Theory is that employees will not be interested in the company unless they know something about it. Data should be made available in finance, profit, expansion policies, etc. The security, income and community status of the employees is partly dependent upon the actions of the company, and the employee has an understandable desire to be taken into the confidence of management. Pursuant of this policy, management supplemented standard procedures by the adoption of less conventional channels of communication. Crown-Zellerbach found that foremen and union officials are the least artificial and most informed and personal lines of information.

Specialists Not Used

The following from Mr. Heron deserves reproduction, for it represents the best thinking on the subject. He says:

We go at this job of seeing to it that the information which the directors have, . . . finds its way down through the line organization: not through specialists, not through industrial relations experts; but down through the line organization to the superintendent, to the foreman, to the man who works, so that these men may know these things.

Of the union's function as channel, he says,

This channel of communication and understanding, which employees themselves have created, furnishes the modern substitute for the individual contact between employer and the worker which disappeared in the growth of modern industry. Some of us are ready to move . . . into a relationship with our employees, through representatives of their own choosing, which will take for granted the two-way

process of collective bargaining, and build on that premise the constructive and democratic program which we call collective bargaining.

Without safety valves or channels of free discussion, dissatisfactions which are outside the scope of the agreement can undermine the whole collective relationship. The union must be encouraged to bring to the attention of management, in various ways, every question or suggestion relating to the "good of the order."

The foreman occupies a more important place in Crown-Zellerbach than in any other businesses studied. We have seen the reason for this. Mr. Zellerbach's idea of the importance of the foreman is revealed in these facts: the company has a working foreman for every seven employees, and a non-working foreman for every 15 to 20. They have responsibility for hiring and firing, settlement of grievances, except where a matter of policy decision would be involved. After each contract renewal, management of the individual mills calls in the foremen to discuss with them the terms and meaning of the new contract. This is supplemented by weekly meetings with other foremen and a monthly meeting of foremen and division superintendents.

Foremen Now Cooperate

Because foremen at an earlier period tended to resent union officials and stewards, the company had to show them that the collective agreement, the grievance committee, the shop stewards were not obstacles but aids to them in their task. The union is often consulted in selection of foremen. For the company, noting that the majority of supervisors come up from the ranks, argues, "We certainly should not fail to grasp the opportunity of building in the minds of today's employees the necessity and obligation and feasibility of living together decently under the collective bargain." In keeping with this policy, the company demands of mill manager both an ability to get along with the men under them, and a record of having so done (e.g. griev-

ance record). To such managers, and by sub-delegation to those under them — not to staff industrial-relations experts — is given responsibility for good relations.

Workers' Rights Recognized

This first study also gives an approach to "management's rights" typical of the five. Authors Kerr and Randall have this to say:

Originally management had all the rights and the unions none. The unions have penetrated the bundle of rights originally held by management. Management has not always been pleased with this, but a general line has been drawn which is sufficiently acceptable to both parties so that no strikes or lockouts have been occasioned in a battle over prerogatives. While specific lines have been drawn, they have not been considered sacred.

Decision-making is now shared on such problems as wage determination, discharge, promotions, safety, and vacation and other benefits. In addition management representatives consult constantly on a wide variety of operating problems. Management retains control over hiring, technological change, and the speed and assignment of work. Foremen do not belong to the union. No strikes are permitted during the life of the contract. This is the essential and mutually acceptable division of rights and responsibilities as it has emerged. . . .

The no-strike provision was at first a source of contention. The company began by insisting upon a list of a whole series of situations in which strikes were not permissible. But the clause was unwieldy and could not include all possible circumstances. It was dropped in favor of a provision that there be no strike during the period of agreement or upon the expiration without express and specific sanction of the signatory unions (i.e. the international, not the local).

Not All Banned

When the local conducted a strike vote in 1946 during contract, the company in reaction proposed an absolute ban on strikes during the contract's life. This the union would not accept. 406

It contended that the local had a right to take a strike vote, provided it did not carry out a strike not sanctioned by the international. It further contended that unauthorized strikes by locals were not entirely subject to control by the international and that such local action would not constitute repudiation of the contractual obligations by the signatory union, provided the international had exercised sufficient efforts to stop the local action. Finally, it declared that it was necessary for the international to reserve ultimate right to conduct an authorized strike in the event of flagrant violation by the employers.

Once the employers were given in the official record assurance they had essential protection, they allowed the clause to stand as it had been. This resolution of the problem of managerial rights with mutual satisfaction was followed by setting up protection of management by a listing of causes for immediate discharge, including employee's refusal to comply with rules of the company. But such rules, it was agreed, may not conflict with the Agreement, are subject to local discussion with the union. Furthermore, explanations in writing are required for the discharge, and careful rules of evidence have been worked out with the union. The unions have been cautious in protesting discharge and have never supported a member against whom the evidence clearly stood.

Union, Management Cooperate

The decision to promote lies with management; seniority governing, however, other things being equal. But management determines whether other things are equal. This still leaves management with the obligation of consulting the union and in actual practice management accepts the union's recommendation.

The most critical conflict over management rights concerned the right to

direct. Two incidents in 1946 involved sudden decisions to keep in the one case a single worker, in the other, a work force on the job after day's work was completed. Both decisions were resisted by the union. With this challenge to its right to direct, management sought in 1947 a clause which would provide that "in a grievance, workers continue to work as directed by management pending settlement of grievance." The union, fearful of a return to autocratic supervisory power, particularly during the time needed to process a difficult grievance, vehemently objected. The issue brought the two parties closer to political incompatibility than they had ever been before. At stake for management was right to manage, subject to subsequent protest; for the union, the claimed right to share initially in decisions affecting their members.

In a brief, management set forth its conviction that on their team, management of the mill must be the quarterback who calls signals in the interest of the whole team. But recognizing the possibility of unwise or arbitrary decisions, it set forth protection of the workers, and concluded,

Under the protections that we have set up here, he [the employee] had and shall have and we want him to have complete protection against unreasonable and unsafe and arbitrary directions of management, but we are still unwilling to surrender what we always have had, and that is responsibility for calling signals and issuing the directions.

Union Agrees

The international union reluctantly accepted only after additional assurances were given of quicker grievance procedure. It said in its reply,

Our delegates have voted to submit... [but] we are going to watch very carefully the position of supervisors regarding this question. If supervisors take undue advantage... and if we do not get the proper recognition in the final adjudication of a case we consider is just,

then at the next conference we shall come in here fighting mad, and we are going to clear up the matter once and for all.

Management at once informed all supervisors that it would tolerate no abuses, that the new clause represented no basic change in the relationship with the union, that all that had been done was to clarify existing relationships with the union and that—apart from the right to make decisions—it was prepared to consult with the union on almost any matter affecting the employees in any way.

To present any further elements of the "management rights" solutions at Crown-Zellerbach would require so much further detailing of motives, conditions and assumptions involved in each that it will have to suffice to conclude with the author's summary. It is very lengthy but so typical generally of the arrangement in the five cases that it ought to be quoted in full.

Report Summary

The union has not challenged management's right to introduce new machinery or methods or to set the speed of work, in part, because the stability of employment and the gradual expansion of the industry have meant that the exercise of these rights has not threatened the security of the individual worker. At the same time, most of these improvements have made the work easier... Management has also retained the right to hire, partly because the slow inflow of new workers has constituted no threat to the unions. Nor have the unions sought to represent foremen, partly because the foremen were no threat to the unions because of the generally favorable attitude of management toward the union.

Certainly management . . . no longer enjoys unrestricted powers. It has yielded traditional rights chiefly in those fields now generally conceded to be subject to collective bargaining. Only in the joint safety program has it gone beyond the customary boundaries. Management has retained the essential right to direct, and the necessary powers to operate efficiently; the right to hire, the right to discharge for cause, the right to promote partly on the basis of efficiency, to change methods and machines, the right to set output standards, the right of sole

control over foremen, and the right to have work proceed without interruption. At the same time, consultation with the unions has been widely practiced and management has discussed with them many problems on which it still has sole discretion . . . Almost without exception plant managers of plants assert that time spent in conference with union representatives is not a grudging concession of management, but a real investment paying steady dividends.

If sovereignty of management means retaining those powers essential to the achievement of quantity and quality of production, then, little if any real impairment has taken place.

2. Libby-Owen-Ford

Frederick Harbison and King Carr of Chicago University's Industrial Relations Center find "a fairly consistent and logical pattern in the collective-bargaining process at LOF. The Company knows what it wants: its labor policy . . . is positive and clear-cut. The union has definite objectives: it knows where it wants to go. Each side . . . recognizes the aims and objectives of the other."

This study ably documents the possibility of successfully defining areas of conflict and of common interests, and of cooperation in the one, compromise in the other. For example (and this is quite typical of the other four cases) let's look at how they go about rate-making in wages. Wages at LOF are a combination of a base plus incentive. The incentive is a bonus for additional units produced above a standard.

Rate-setting for the hourly base is simple. Assume a new job is to be introduced into a plant. Plant management and union officials proceed to check with main office and union headquarters to see whether that job exists elsewhere within the enterprise. If so, its rate is adopted. If not, a company description of similar jobs is used to negotiate a rate for the new. In case of disagreement, the company's proposal of a rate goes into effect, subject to union dispute through grievance channel.

Bonuses Computed

Bonus-rate-setting is more complex. Company and union agree an average worker ought to earn a bonus equal to 35 per cent of his base wage. The question is how much extra work is to be required to earn that extra 35 per cent. Here rate-setting and negotiation continue to play their part. To earn his bonus, the two parties agree the worker must produce above a standard operation. Since the company is interested in cutting labor costs through incentive, it splits fifty-fifty on each additional unit above the standard. Obviously, how high or how low that standard will be is important to both worker and manager. Here again, in the event of dispute, contract calls for acceptance of the company's proposed rate with recourse allowed the union through its grievance procedure.

Manifestly, for the incentive system to increase productivity, the union's acceptance is essential: the union always has it in its power to restrict production. Just as manifest from management's side, there must be an increase of output, and the cost of that increase must not be allowed to wipe out the looked-for drop in labor cost. One can, then, see why incentive plans are so often a source of dissatisfaction to one or both sides, and finally come to destroy trust and good faith.

The record, however, at LOF is one of mutual gain. For the worker there is a 20c per hour differential over a worker in Pittsburgh Plate. Management, too, is satisfied with the increased output. The fifty-fifty sharing appeals to the work force because, first, they earn bonus on each piece above a low base (not just on pieces above an average which a plant manager might consider its break-even point); secondly, there is no level of increased production beyond which only the company earns.

Changes Negotiated

At LOF, there is also mutual satisfaction over rate adjustment as new technology demands changes. Management has the right to change a rate, but must consult with the union. It may establish the rate unilaterally only if no agreement is possible. Since, however, the union retains the right to proceed against the rate in grievance, the company in actual practice negotiates a rate acceptable to the union.

Both sides have avoided making an issue of the *right* to set rates; instead they look at it as a *problem* to be solved. Both, as a consequence, can feel they are in the driver's seat. This mutual satisfaction has not, however, been achieved without clashes, such as the following. In 1945, a 13-week strike was occasioned by refusal of the company to renegotiate a rate. A grievance over rate in a grinding and polishing operation had gone unsettled when the line had been shut down for war production. When the line was to be resumed in 1945, the union warned management of the mill that it would not start work on the operation unless the bonus rate was changed. The management decided to go ahead with the operation and face the risk.

When the issue finally came to the attention of top international officials, they acknowledged that the company was technically in the right. But by this time the local had gone out on strike. The company then served notice that it would not pursue the then pending contract renegotiations while men remained out on strike. The union countered by authorizing the local's strike. Management had exercised its "right" and stuck to its principles. But the union had shown its effective power to protest what it considered arbitrary or an unreasonable demand of management in the face of political realities. Since that time management has decided that it is useless and unreason-

able to ask the union to do things politically impossible.

Floor Under Rates

Another feature of the bonus rate satisfying to union members is this. Members are protected against downward adjustment of the rate should their production rise above the standard on which the existing rate is predicated. This enables the union to persuade workers to step up production a bit when the company is pressed for immediate deliveries.

Concerning time-studies involved in making a rate, both union and company find satisfaction in each other's attitude and mutual procedure. The union does not oppose rational attempts by engineers to work out a scientific work schedule so long as the union participates. Management agrees with the union that rate setting is more art than science. They want to know what the boys will turn out, not what they can turn out. And that means the company must have prior union acceptance of time and rate studies.

Human Attitude

Many of lower management personnel and industrial engineers consider such rate-setting appeasement. A rate is either right or wrong, they argue, and high rates lift the company's break-even point and result in structures out-of-line with the rest of the industry. If a cut-back were occasioned by a down-turn of business, the company, they argue, would feel the squeeze.

Top management, however, disagrees. It offers four arguments in favor of its attitude: 1. you can't measure on a slide rule how workers feel about a rate, what they'll do about measuring up; 2. the company's policy has met the requirement of increased production and lower labor cost; 3. a tight policy now, designed in anticipation of future weak market needs, would only result in labor trouble

now without assurance of peace in the downswing; 4. the future is to be met by making workers see realistically the relation of earnings to productive needs of the business; 5. with the union, management believes the *manner* of solving today's problems can and will be applied to new situations in which type of material or technology or market situation changes.

3. Dewey Almy Chemical

Douglas McGregor (President of Antioch College) and Joseph N. Scanlan (M.I.T.'s industrial relations section) prepared this case study. They make the interesting point that it has been argued that union-management relations tend to develop through three stages: 1. a mititancy stage (in which the union fights for its existence and security); 2. an administrative stage (after mutual acceptance, company and union work out policies and procedures to guide their relations); 3. cooperation to improve the enterprise's competitive position (stockholders, union members, and customers sharing in the fruits).

Relations at Dewey Almy, they report, skipped the first stage. The relationship was begun almost entirely in the second. This was due to a friendly and sympathetic top management. But this very fact of benevolence created a situation which threatened serious deterioration of relations. For top management, especially the president, carried good will over to paternalism. Top management tended to treat members and union as children. There was not a business-like view of relations with the union, nor with its demands. The consequence was that the union acted like children. Its corresponding approach to collective bargaining was to ask and keep on asking. The more it got, the more it asked. It would ask a dozen things in the hope of getting half. It didn't bargain about the proposals or demonstrate their merits.

Almost as naively as a child, its argument was that the members wouldn't be happy if they didn't get what they asked.

Needless to say, bargaining relations were tranquil. The union had a genuine regard for top management, for its sincere good will as well as its generous giving.

Lower Ranks Ignored

A second aspect of this paternalism is the effect upon day-to-day relations. Since the top management assumed full responsibility for administering the agreement on a day-to-day basis (as it had negotiated it) the union quite naturally expected the president and other top men to make all decisions, to hear and settle minor as well as major complaints. Lower ranks of management were consequently ignored by both sides.

In keeping with this policy, when top management decided it needed to develop its personnel *function*, the president hired a personnel expert. Function of this individual was to service the union and to handle problems lower management was unequipped to handle. Thus again, lower management was by-passed. Instead of making the function of getting good relations the responsibility of *line* managers, the president diverted the responsibility from its natural channel to make it a *staff* position. Union reaction was to deepen its impression that lower and middle management was unimportant.

In turn, the superintendents and foremen felt frustrated, resented being by-passed, felt they didn't have the proper backing of the men at the top. They argued that the company allowed the union to make unreasonable demands—unreasonable in view of their job of getting the work out. They felt their situation was made even more impossible because they had lost prestige in the eyes of the workers.

Attitude Caused Trouble

The growing conflict came to a head in the war. The president of Dewey Almy was called to Washington. Upon leaving, he delegated responsibility and authority for industrial relations to a consultant. This director of personnel administration formulated policies, settled grievances. This further robbed lower management of needed authority. Because top management had taken the position it would do anything to avoid a strike (they were producing exclusively for armed forces), operating managers felt this policy completely abdicated management's prerogatives and destroyed discipline and efficiency. They felt they simply could not operate under such conditions. Though their problem was real enough, this level of management had become unable to see the problem realistically. Legalistic arguments became interminable. Friction arose over the slightest dispute.

Fortunately, top management by 1947 saw the need of revamping its policy. Responsibility for administering the Agreement was put where it belonged—in the hands of middle and lower management. The personnel director assumed a merely advisory capacity. Within six months, the authors report, most members of line management were regularly and spontaneously reaching decisions identical with those the personnel department had been trying unsuccessfully to enforce under the previous arrangement. They were doing this because they could no longer pass the buck. Good relations had become their job.

Foremen Used, Consulted

Series of foremen conferences were started to help the foremen solve the problems they met in directing the work operations. Through them the foremen began to develop leadership skills. Today line management accepts

full responsibility for administering the contract, and a major share of this responsibility is effectively delegated to the middle and lower management. Moreover, this group participates actively in the formulation of policy and in the negotiation process.

Few complaints ever go beyond the first or second step of grievance procedure. The union no longer by-passes line organization, and it now recognizes the competence and fairness of foremen and superintendents. The former critical problems have ceased to be critical; genuine collective bargaining has replaced paternalism and its consequent evils; and both sides are developing satisfactorily the skills needed for effective administration. On its side the union has reciprocated by assuming full responsibility for carrying out mutually determined policies, for communication from and to its membership, for holding down grievances (the latter not by repressing genuine grievances but by more careful winnowing of the genuine from the spurious).

This high-lighting of a critical (and typical enough!) problem solved by Dewey Almy associates in production leaves unnoticed a very great deal of other interesting and instructive aspects of labor relations in our third case study. But we must pass on to the fourth.

4. Hickey-Freeman

Where Zellerbach and Heron were the moving spirits in developing good industrial relations in their company, leadership in this case study of a top quality maker of men's clothing belonged to Sidney Hillman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Mr. Donald Straus, author of the report, at this point appends a footnote. For the N.P.A. had insisted on avoiding cases where the good relations were to be ascribed to a dominant personality. And that Mr. Hillman surely was—

not only for Hickey-Freeman but for the entire men's clothing industry. Mr. Straus assures us that, "While Sidney Hillman's influence on the development of labor relations in this industry has been profound, the pattern developed at Hickey-Freeman under the general industrial philosophy of co-operation has been the individual product of local union and management officials."

Nevertheless, the name of Hillman is a "symbol of a way of labor relation." Management is as unanimous as labor in ascribing to Hillman primary role in development of the peaceful collective bargaining that has characterized the industry. His philosophy guided the union from 1914. Straus cites four main principles: 1. The instrumentality of an impartial chairman is best for settling disputes; 2. conflict is not inevitable, but a partnership is achievable which will result in mutual gain; 3. unions must not press their advantage against friendly or weak employers, but rather make it possible for them to attain an advantageous competitive position; 4. the union should think and act on an industry-wide scope.

Reasonable Approach

When Hillman organized the powerful Rochester group of quality clothiers, he began with a three-year program of selling the union to the workers of the area. Then when a small strike broke out in a unit of one firm, he was in position to organize a strike of city-wide proportions. But instead of further demonstrating his strength, he gambled on peaceful methods.

He got a Harvard professor and the president of Filene's Department Store, Boston, to approach the Rochester Clothier's Exchange. These representatives succeeded in getting the Exchange to meet with Hillman. They were so satisfied with his philosophy that they agreed to arbitrate the strike and fur-

ther to extend the terms agreed upon to the whole Rochester area. A ten to twenty per cent wage increase, time and a half for overtime, a 48-hour week were granted. Collective bargaining by Hillman's one shrewd stroke was off to a peaceful start.

The next year, 1919, Hillman personally conducted negotiations for the contract. He satisfied himself with reducing the work week to 44 hours. Realizing the impossibility of persuading the Rochester group to yield union security, he contented himself with not making an issue of it, but still achieving needed protection through an agreement to arbitrate all disputes. This arbitration was up to 1931 the chief instrument of peaceful relations; after that the closed shop assumed primary role.

Simple Contract

Because the two parties could not formulate for themselves what problems would become issues in the subsequent years, they wrote an extremely simple agreement of *four paragraphs*. Paragraph four appointed an impartial chairman to whom all disputes would be carried for a binding decision. The choice of Dr. William Leiserson (later of the National Labor Relations Board) was a happy one.

Leiserson conceived his office to be one combining mediatorship with arbitration. It was his practice, in mediatorial role, to send back as many cases as possible for direct negotiation between the parties to the dispute. And even where he found it necessary to arbitrate, he first called a joint meeting of representatives of both sides to discuss the case and his tentative decision and to ask their aid in making it. Through both techniques of Dr. Leiserson, the principals began to learn more about true collective bargaining and began to understand one another. Thus a process which theoretically, and in great measure, practically as well, i

synthetical to collective bargaining, was made to be a school for collective bargaining.

Another feature of Leiserson's procedure was important in the evolution of good relations, though it occasioned at a later stage serious threat to collective bargaining. Leiserson used to hand down with his decisions a statement of principles. These principles grew into a body of policy—a code of industrial ethics. In 1922 the Cothier's Exchange printed them in a document called *Understandings to the Agreement*.

Mutual Understanding Grows

Two things promoted the evolution of this "negotiation by arbitration" into true collective bargaining. The first was that as the principles became better known, the parties grew convinced that they could do a better job of discussing and compromising issues than an outsider, even as well acquainted with the industry as an impartial chairman. The second was that once basic principles were established, cases coming to arbitration involved more and more of minor interpretations of the main body of established principles. As a result the decisions became cluttered with a complicated mass of legal reasoning.

Both sides tried to take advantage of this new legalism with the consequence that a developing-downward trend in the number of cases brought to the impartial chairman stopped. This very result made the parties more acutely conscious of the danger for good relations involved in their avoidance of direct negotiations. From that time forward, use of the impartial chairman dwindled to nothing.

It is instructive that good industrial relations were achieved in and through an instrumentality which would rarely be resorted to today. Reference here is not to use of arbitration, but to the shift of role of an arbitrator from

arbitrator to mediator, and to the by-passing of direct negotiations in favor of development of contractual relations by awards. Again it suggests that good relations are essentially dependent on attitudes, only secondarily on procedures.

Understanding Necessary

Mr. Leiserson could never have effected what he did had it not been for the desire of both principals to live and work together in peace and friendship, and mutual protection of security and survival for the other. Moreover, a contractual agreement of such simple terms could not serve good relations unless the parties were not concerned with arguing over what should be considered proper areas for bargaining, but rather concerned themselves with concrete issues which from growing experience they knew could be negotiated with mutual satisfaction.

Mr. Straus informs us that among other practices in Hickey-Freeman making for peace "by common agreement... the closed shop is one of the most important. Students of the needle trades have repeatedly come to this same conclusion." So unwilling was management to disturb the closed shop that in 1947 it obviated Taft-Hartley's threat by granting a five-year extension of contract.

But management had not always thought so of the closed shop. In 1919 Rochester was so open-shop that Hillman had not dared venture any type of union security proposal. By 1922, however, the union was sufficiently accepted that the explicit avowal of open-shop could be stricken from the Agreement. Still no provision for any union security replaced it. But an opening was made by introducing into the Agreement a contract on the part of management to do something it had always done—give first consideration in hiring to persons who had been employed in local shops doing work

for the members of the Clothier's Exchange.

In 1925 a request for the preferential shop met so much opposition that the union dropped it. Several months later the Joint Board (made up of delegates from each union local) set up an efficient employment agency, and within six months 98 per cent of jobs were filled through it. In effect a closed shop was thereby created. Several years elapsed before closed shop received formal recognition.

Now Favor Closed Shop

Management told Mr. Straus that they feel the closed shop is essential to the kind of management-union relations that have developed. They state that it gives the union freedom to make decisions which at the time may be unpopular with rank and file. A long record of moderation and responsible union leadership has won company support for the closed shop.

A few samples of this union responsibility. In the 1933-35 depression the union negotiated three successive wage cuts, loaned money to several firms unable to get bank loans. Mr. Hillman early realized three things about wages in the industry: 1. The union must not put such burdens upon the unionized employer as would worsen his competitive position; 2. lifting employee wage benefits necessitated seeing to it that the labor costs to one firm within the industry were not in excess of another's; 3. the great variety of ways of making a garment made it almost impossible to apply labor's usual principal of equal pay for comparable work.

Incentive Wages

These three factors pointed to substitution of the principle of equal labor costs for comparable work—or, wages geared to productivity, an incentive basis. Mr. Leiserson had come to the same conclusion when he reviewed the situation in a wage dispute of the 1922

depression. How to keep up wages (for the union had already taken cuts) and how to cut down labor costs was the question for him to solve if he could. The union rank and file was traditionally opposed to incentives. But when Hillman was convinced of Leiserson's finding that both workers and employers could profit by it, he undertook the difficult job of selling incentive wage on an increased productivity basis. He succeeded.

As in our previous notes, this selective account of case 4 leaves untold how the union and employer in Hickey's Freeman developed a partnership approach to all the problems that arose: negotiation of changes of piece rates, change of job character, security and seniority, grievance, and the little day-to-day problems.

5. Sharon Steel

We can be briefer about this study, for it reveals not much that we have not seen of practice or principle in the four preceding studies. Here again, personalities played a significant, though not all-sufficing, part. Mr. Roemer, president of Sharon, must be credited with accepting SWOC (Steel Workers' Organizing Committee) in 1937 at a time when the rest of the industry was fighting a bitter, ruthless battle to keep the union out. And Mr. Roemer accepted it without reservation. At that period of the United Steelworkers development, the district director had a great deal of authority in local union affairs. Mr. J. Wade Miller, Jr., author of this report, is able to say of the district union head, Mr. John Grajciar: "The relationship between Sharon and the union has been influenced to a great extent by the personal amity of these two men (Grajciar and Roemer.) Grajciar had a marked talent for collective bargaining." Mutual confidence, too, between Mr. Roemer and Clinton Golden, then Regional Director of

WOC, played an important part.

A second remarkable feature of this relationship is that Sharon — a relatively small business even compared to Little Steel—found its competitive position improving significantly, wages and earnings comparing favorably with those elsewhere in the industry and in the community, and average profits and dividends increasing at a rate faster than that for the industry as a whole.

Gains Transferred

The author also records this significant fact. The constructive character of Sharon's industrial relations was impressively shown by the changes taking place when Sharon took over a plant previously operated by another large basic steel producer. Where strikes and arbitration cases had been common, no instance of either occurred after Sharon took over. Furthermore, this plant's war record, considered unsurpassable, was exceeded in several departments under Sharon operation. Good industrial relations, at least, cannot be said to be an obstacle to efficient operation.

Mr. Miller characterizes management's attitude in Sharon as one of sincerity, flexibility and firmness. Typical of this was Mr. Roemer's response to the union when they reported, after taking over the plant discussed in the previous paragraph, that they had for eight years failed to work out a seniority system with their previous managers. Mr. Roemer said,

"Well, all right, what kind of seniority do you want? If you work up a plan that suits you and if it seems fairly reasonable to us, we will adopt it. Go ahead and work it out."

The union did.

Work schedules, too, under previous management had been a bone of contention. Again Mr. Roemer characteristically said,

"You fellows go ahead and work out the schedules that suit you best. We

don't intend to pay any unnecessary overtime, but we will adopt the schedules that are most convenient for you if they give us the production turns that we need on the furnaces and the mills."

Shared Responsibility

Similar instances suggest to Mr. Miller that "the fact that the way to develop effective and responsible leadership in a union local is to give it a reasonable amount of responsibility is perhaps one of the chief lessons to be drawn from the Sharon experience."

What there is to be added about the Sharon experience would only repeat experiences thus far seen. Management's flexibility and informality made for smooth, simple relations and minimized legalistic approaches. It facilitated the prompt settlement of grievances.

As in the preceding case, so here. By-passing of lower management by the heads of the company and of the local union officials by the district director pushed the lower officials out of the picture with a consequent loss of valuable experience in dealing constructively with one another.

The local union hit a low ebb from which it recovered only when the district director began to withdraw from direct negotiations. Again, simplicity characterizes negotiations. There is the same conviction that employees have a right to information on management affairs and decisions which directly affected employees' welfare.

Questions Raised

Students of industrial relations are subjecting these studies to critical evaluation. Some of the questions they ask have already been asked by the National Planning Association's own committee.

The committee, for instance, has asked: did the enterprise or union or public suffer from the collaboration? This reporter will have to send inter-

ested readers to the studies themselves for the economic picture (and political as well, in the case of the union) of each firm adduced to prove the competitive position of the firm was, at a minimum, not injured, and most probably, improved by the collaboration. The price and quality picture there adduced takes care, too, of the question of the consuming public's protection. The situation of the union is implicated in all that has been brought out in this report.

To another question asked by the N.P.A.—what will happen to these good relations if business falls off?—it seems a reasonable answer which the parties concerned gave the researchers: "We can't very well answer for the future, but we do believe that attitudes of trust, of friendship, of cooperative interest already achieved will carry us through whatever eventualities arise. There will be problems, even critical conflicts. But we now know they do not have to be looked at as insurmountable, for we have licked their like and maybe worse."

A final problem, and a serious one, involves the hypothesis underlying the five studies. It is this, that good relations cannot be had where there is persistent militancy on the part of the union. Another way of putting the problem is to ask whether the authors have considered how much of the peaceful relations achieved in these case studies may be due to militancy elsewhere, either now or in the past or both.

Other Influences

For instance, in Sharon Steel there is no conflict over wages. But how

much of this is due to the fact that the militant job of wagemaking is undertaken by the International union in its annual bout with Big Steel? Again, may it not be partly true that the more militant International Woodworkers of America (CIO) make the wage for the AFL Brotherhoods involved in Crown-Zellerbach? True, management is willing to pay what the Pulp and Paper unions find it necessary to ask in order to prevent inroads of the Woodworkers upon their membership. But the fact remains, as the authors noted, that the CIO Woodworkers create the wage pattern which the Pulp and Paper unions use, freeing the latter from the onus of wage making.

The problem can be stated in more general terms: where would peaceful unions get — even granting management's favorable attitudes—if it weren't for the big battles over the big issues fought and being fought by militant unionists, e.g. Reuther's and Murray's, current battle for pensions? Surely many of the men to whom laboring people owe most were militant, and persistent in their militancy. There is a correct sense in which labor represents a class interest, and classes do not function without militant leaders, for the very assumption of class is that there is a disallowed interest needing representation. Justice itself, in a word, in our poor world has to be fought for.

The answers to these and the like questions we will eagerly await as the rest of the N.P.A.'s 15 studies appear and the experts begin to have their say about the worth of the reporting job done.

The Need for Peace

The ruins of this war are already too gigantic for us to add to them those of a frustrate and deceptive peace.

Pius XII

SERMONS ON THE SOCIAL ORDER

John P. Delaney, S.J.

II

MAN—"Who is Man that
Thou art mindful of him?"
— All that goes into the
Making of Man.

Some ideas to get across:

The beginning of an appreciation of human dignity through a realization of all that there is of God in the human being;

The practical realization that we are God's, we belong to God, everything we have and are belong to God; and all our living must be returned to God, be directed towards God, etc. (the first meditation of the Spiritual Exercises); The more Godly a human being is, the finer, the greater he is (and this idea will carry through all the sermons on Man—leading up to and clinching the Catholic idea of leadership and success as measured solely by sanctity).

Suggestions:

A man might be stumped if he were suddenly asked to give a definition of himself.

He is not only body and soul and all the grand gifts of body and soul—

A mind—curious, searching, inventive, creative, capable of piercing even the secrets of God and the treasures of the Heart of Christ, capable of knowing and holding God, capable of thinking thoughts of God.

A heart—capable of deep love and all-embracing love, of loving with a love so intense and unselfish that it can ignore suffering and sacrifice and pain, capable of high ideals and heroism and greatness (examples of mother's love—a soldier's love—love of husband and wife in its fusing of two into one).

Bodily Gifts—

Eyes—the beauty of human eyes, eyes of a child in their innocence, eyes of a young mother innocent as a child's yet with a depth and fullness that have been added by suffering; no beauty in sun and moon and stars like the beauty of human eyes; eyes that can see all that is grand and lovely; eyes that look upon the body and blood of Christ uplifted in Mass.

Tongue—the amazing wonders of the human voice; gives expression to thoughts; can arouse people to fury, to heroism, to tears, to laughter; can encourage and console and cheer;—

the voice of a priest when he speaks in Confession, when he gives consolation to people in sorrow;—the thrill of a voice of a long absent friend;—the tongue that becomes the momentary resting place of the Body and Blood of Christ in Holy Communion.

Ears, hands, etc., etc.—with their skill and power (a carpenter's hands, an artist's, a musician's).

But more than all this

Every human being is a sort of reservoir of

all the thoughts, words and actions of his entire life. Nothing is ever lost. Everything leaves its mark, its influence. (e.g. — the things that we have long since forgotten that suddenly spring into our minds — a little boy of six in delirium crying out names of people he had not seen or heard of since he was two years old).

all the influences that come into his life, e.g.,

The love of mother and father are a part of you

The influence of teachers and friends

The lives of people who have touched your life

All the Masses ever heard

All the Communions received

All the Confessions made

All the prayers you have said and that have been said for you

The very life of Christ is a part of your life (You would not be what you are today if Christ had not been born, etc.). The birth of Christ, His life at Nazareth, His teaching, His suffering, His death, His resurrection.

The Mother of God is a part of your life.

The heroism of apostles, martyrs, missionaries, all of those grand people who came to this country in early years and lived and worked and died that you might have the America of today, and the faith that is yours today.

All the best thought and all the grandest ideals of the centuries are part of you.

Conclusions:

In all this, the Hand of God giving, guiding, influencing, shaping, molding—

“What have you that you have not received?”

You are God's and everything you have is God's

Appreciation of your dignity, and gratitude for it

Realization of your obligation to live up to all that is of God within you

Respect of the Godliness of others

Obligation to pass on to others all that God has given to you.

III

MAN—“God is not a Respector of Persons.” — Are all men created equal?

What are we driving at:

A proper understanding of human dignity, Catholic meaning of success, the value of life, both as an individual achievement and as a social contribution.

Democracy is founded on the theory of

the equality of human beings and proper respect for human dignity. Yet and this should come out clearly, unless we get a Christian understanding of man in relation to his Creator, there is no such thing as equality of men. Except as a son of God, as a brother of Christ, man has no more dignity than a

collection of chemical substances.

ideas to get across:

Human dignity and human equality are just phrases if not understood according to Christian principles.

Once we understand the Christian meaning of the words we must have a deep respect for every human being, regardless of nationality, creed, color, work, degree of education, etc.; we must respect the fundamental rights of every human being; we must learn not to judge the value and dignity of human beings by money, social position, etc.; we must strive to increase our own real dignity, our own real value.

Ultimately, we must get down to this: Man's real dignity, real worth to himself, to the world, and to God is measured by man's sanctity.

Suggestions:

All men are created equal. So says the Declaration of Independence. So say our Fourth of July orators, our "liberals," our communists. So say all of us.

Are all men equal? "Nothing," wrote Leo XIII, "is more useful than to look upon the world as it really is." And in another place he remarks, "It must first of all be recognized that the condition of things inherent in human affairs must be borne with, for it is IMPOSSIBLE TO REDUCE CIVIL SOCIETY TO ONE DEAD LEVEL. . . . There naturally exist among mankind manifold differences of the most important kind; people differ in capacity, skill, strength; and unequal fortune is a necessary result of unequal conditions. Such inequality is far from being disadvantageous to individuals or to the community. Social and public life can only be maintained by means of various kinds of capacity for business and the playing of many parts; and each man, as a rule, chooses

the part which suits his own particular domestic condition."

Looking on the world as it really is, we see immediately that *all men are not equal*, in every way. There is a very great inequality among men in talent, physical ability, manual dexterity, artistic ability, character, ambition, perseverance, etc.

Physically, men are not equal. Some men have a strong physique capable of long hours of labor, endurance, feats of skill beyond the powers of other men. Some men are cripples, some are blind, some deaf. Some men are born with weaknesses in the system that will make them an easy prey to disease. Some people spend a good part of their lives taking medicine, lying in hospital beds, physically helpless. There are others who hardly ever know a day of sickness.

In talent, men are not equal. There are geniuses among us and idiots. Not every human mind is equally keen, equally quick, capable of scholarly development. There is no denying the existence of special talent for art, for music, for literature, for mathematics, for the different sciences and professions. Not every human being is the equal in musical talent of a Beethoven or a Paderewski, or a Caruso. We could not all of us, with all the training in the world, paint or carve as well as Leonardo da Vinci.

Not every carpenter is as good as every other carpenter. All welders and truck drivers and freight handlers are not equal in ability. And this lack of equality is not just a matter of lack of ambition or diligence or hard work.

In character men are not equal. Some people are naturally more hot-tempered than others. Some are naturally inclined to diligence, ambition, while others are naturally slothful, careless, lazy. Training and education can do much to level inequalities of character, but the fact remains that there are

these natural inequalities in the human character.

Men are BORN into an unequal status, some into wealth, some into poverty; some into families of high ideals and strong character, some into families of criminal habits.

Men are RAISED in unequal opportunities from early life: inequalities in education, in moral training, in surroundings, in companions, in medical care, in preparation for life.

The very structure of life in society (and this is very important) demands *diversified work*, different talents. The world could not go on if we were all bankers, all lawyers, all teachers, all plumbers, all artists. Life demands a variety of skills and occupations. There must be farmers and doctors and bakers and transport workers and machinists and dentists.

"No matter what changes may occur in the forms of government, there will ever be differences and inequalities of condition in the State. Society cannot exist or be conceived to exist without them . . ." (Leo XIII).

In what then are all men equal? To make the question practical: In what is the scrubwoman the equal of the clubwoman? In what is the bum on the Bowery, the equal of the Pope in the Vatican? In what is the peasant the equal of the prince? In what are all men equal — rich, poor, educated, ignorant, black, white, yellow, brown, young, old?

Leo XIII answers thus:

"All men are children of the common Father, God;

"All have the same end which is God. Himself, Who alone can make either men or angels perfectly happy;

"All and each are redeemed by Jesus Christ, and raised to the dignity of children of God, and thus are united in brotherly ties both

with each other and with Jesus Christ, 'The first born among many brethren';

"The blessing of nature and the gifts of grace belong in common to the whole human race;

"To all, except to those who are unworthy is promised the inheritance of the Kingdom of heaven."

In other words, men are equal because they are men with immortal souls

because they are created by God in the image of God

because God considered them worthy of the Blood of His own Son

because they are destined to live forever with God

because they are all brothers of Christ, living the life of Christ.

To quote Leo XIII again:

"It is the soul which is made after the image and likeness of God; it is in the soul that sovereignty resides, in virtue of which man is commanded to rule the creatures below him, and to use all the earth and ocean for his profit and advantage. 'Fill the earth and subdue it; and rule over the fishes of the sea and the fowls of the air, and all living creatures which move upon the earth.' In this respect all men are equal; there is no difference between rich and poor, master and servant, 'ruler and ruled,' 'for the same Lord is over all.'"

This is the essential equality of all men which is the foundation of all liberty and all democracy. Unless we base our understanding of human equality on this relationship of God to man and man to God, there is no proper understanding of the phrase "All men are created equal," and liberty and democracy become just meaningless words.

So important is this *essential equality* that in the light of it, all the differences we mentioned above are unimportant. It is in an understanding of

his equality that we come to realize what we mean by the *Dignity of the Human Being*.

We conclude:

The real dignity of the human being does not depend on
the work he does
his social standing
his education
his wealth
his intellectual, manual or artistic ability

But

on his sonship in God and his brotherhood to Christ, and this dignity is so great that Leo XIII teaches that one human being is of far greater importance than all the material universe.

Similarly Pius XI:

"Man has a spiritual and immortal soul. He is a PERSON, marvelously endowed by his Creator with gifts of body and mind. He is a true 'microcosm,' as the ancients said, a world in miniature, with a value far surpassing that of the vast inanimate cosmos. God alone is his last end, in this life and the next. By sanctifying grace he is raised to the dignity of a son of God, and incorporated into the kingdom of God in the Mystical Body of Christ." (*Atheistic Communism*, No. 27).

"No man may with impunity outrage that human dignity which God Himself treats with great reverence." (*On the Condition of Workingmen*).

Further Conclusions:

1. Every man is obliged to respect his own human dignity and respect the dignity of all other men;
2. Any man dealing with any other man must always realize that he is dealing with a human being, a *person* of great dignity. Every dealing between man and man is essentially a dealing *between equals*;
3. No employer may look upon any worker as just so much brawn and muscle, just a commodity to be bought and sold in the open market

like a bag of potatoes;

"Religion teaches the wealthy owner and the employer that their work people are not to be considered their bondsmen; that in every man they must respect his DIGNITY AND WORTH AS A MAN AS A CHRISTIAN; that labor for wages is not a thing to be ashamed of...but is to man's credit, enabling him to earn his living in AN HONORABLE WAY; and that it is shameful and inhuman to treat men like chattels to make money by or to look on them merely as so much muscle and physical strength." (*On Condition of Workingmen*).

4. Every man, as son of God and brother of Jesus Christ, is brother to every other man, so that *Charity* (love of Christ in fellowmen) as well as *Justice* enters into all dealings between man and man;
5. Finally, the real test of human dignity is Christ in the human being, so that the more Christlike a man is, the greater is his dignity; and when it comes right down to brass tacks, the ditch digger can be as Christlike as the doctor of divinity, and the plumber can be as Christlike as the Pope. The upper reaches of human dignity are found in the catalog of the Saints and among Saints you have:

St. Joseph, a Carpenter, and St. Augustine, a genius;

St. Thomas, a theologian and St. Martin, a colored workman; St. Joseph Labre, a vagabond, a "bum";

The Cure of Ars, who was almost not ordained, because he was "too dumb";

Among possible future Saints is Matt Talbot, the Dublin dock-walloper, one of the grandest Irishmen of the last or any century.

{ T R E N D S }

Care for German Youth

Under the auspices of the U. S. Army Air Forces, a home for young boys has been opened at Oberpfaffenhofen, Germany. In this home, modelled after the late Msgr. Flanagan's Boy's Town, 40 German youths have found shelter and guidance.

The idea of the home was conceived two years ago and put into execution by a group of officers and enlisted men stationed there. The purpose was to do something for the large numbers of homeless boys who have wandered about Germany since the war. Readers of SOCIAL ORDER will recall the account, "Scenario for Life," written by Father Robert G. North, of the work done by a young German for another group of homeless boys.

The 40 boys rule themselves through regular elections to the governing council in much the same fashion as is the practice at Boy's Town. Because of their work on the premises, the project is partially self-supporting. They raise much of their own food and learn crafts or trades which will be of use to them later when they must support themselves.

Members of the Air Forces volunteer their time for instructions and supervision. Two sergeants, one a former resident of Boy's Town, are on full-time duty as supervisors.

Alcoholism in America

In a recently-published article Selden D. Bacon, associate professor of sociology at Yale, indicates factually the gravity of alcoholism as a social evil in America. There are, he says, 3,000,000 alcoholics in the country. None is under 15 years of age and few under 20. The majority are between ages 30 and 55; 95 per cent are between 20 and 65.

Men constitute 85 per cent of compulsive drinkers. This is about 6¼ per cent of the male population between 20 and 65. Compulsive drinkers are also about 6 per cent

of all drinkers, 3 million out of 50 million.

There is no regional concentration of alcoholics, but they are more numerous in urban areas. Poles, Irish and so-called native white Americans have a high rate of alcoholism; Italians, Greeks and Jews have low rates.

Alcoholics are found in all social strata. There seems little evidence for any occupational preponderance, but occupations that interfere with home life (traveling salesmen, actors, migratory workers, newspaper reporters) have a high rate of incidence.

Dr. Bacon merely indicates the magnitude of social loss. Most serious is the direct loss of 6 per cent of effective manpower, as well as the lives of others indirectly affected. The effect upon homes and businesses cannot be estimated.

In addition is the huge expense of institutions for alleviation, restraint and repair. Police, courts, jails, hospitals, religious agencies, social agencies, public departments of welfare and charity, insurance companies, relief organizations, private charities, mental institutions, domestic relations bureaus are all required.

Catholic Employers' Associations

Two new Catholic Employers' Associations have recently come into existence, one in Switzerland, the other in Germany. The first of these, which has its headquarters in Zurich, publishes a bulletin *Katholische Unternehmer*. The association came into being after a meeting held in the city of Einsiedeln and will include German-speaking Swiss Catholic employers.

The German association was established at a meeting held on March 27, 1949, at Königswinter, near Bonn; its headquarters are now in Cologne. Cardinal Frings has agreed to sponsor the organization, which has as its objective "to strive for solutions to the social question according to the mind of the encyclicals."

The secretariates are at Auf der Mauer 13, Zurich, Switzerland, and Riehler Gurtel 45, Köln-Riehl, Germany, respectively.

Progress in Co-ops

The Bureau of Labor Statistics recently issued a report on developments in the field of consumers' cooperatives during the year 1948 which indicated general steady progress. The most significant growth in recent times is the start of cooperatives of various kinds within the trade-union movement. At the sixth biennial congress of the Cooperative League of the U. S. A., the president of the league signalled the start of cooperatives by unionists as a great step in strengthening "the social and economic bonds between farmers and labor."

The secretary of the league pointed to four factors which would determine in the next few years whether co-ops were to remain a comparatively small segment of the American economy or grow to be a vital and significant factor. The four issues are: 1. The success of cooperative business enterprises, 2. the relations of cooperative members with their fellow citizens in local communities, 3. the effectiveness of their national public-relations program, 4. the general attitude of the U.S. toward cooperatives and the consequent action of the government with respect to them.

Although the supply of goods and the volume of business remained good, there was a general decline in operating savings. This decline was due largely to rises in operating expenses and strong competitive prices. Patronage refunds from district and regional wholesale co-ops, however, supplemented the retail earnings.

A significant development in cooperatives during recent years has been the rise of various kinds of health co-ops. At the present there are 101 cooperative hospital associations in the country. Of these only 48 are actually operating hospitals at the present time; 21 others are in various stages of organization (collecting funds, buying land, building); 29 have abandoned the cooperative feature because of various difficulties.

Cooperative health-care plans have encountered obstacles of various kinds. In 10 states, for instance, there are laws which prohibit consumer-controlled plans and reserve operation of group prepayment plans to the medical profession.

Health plans have encountered opposition from the medical profession in many

localities. Physicians who participate in co-op plans have been discriminated against; others refuse to participate because of threats of discrimination. The Cooperative Health Federation of America, which held its first annual meeting last year, hopes to conduct a series of meetings with the American Medical Association to exchange information on "aims, purposes and standards."

Some evidence of Communist activity within the co-op movement appeared during 1948, and a Communist-dominated member association was expelled from the Central Cooperative Wholesale for persisting in "practices which cast serious discredit upon consumers' cooperation generally and upon CCW and its member societies in particular."

At its biennial congress, the Cooperative League of the U. S. A. announced in a statement of policy its opposition to both communism and fascism and its belief that cooperatives were justified in refusing to admit the adherents of either, because their beliefs make it "impossible for them to desire the success of cooperatives as a basic solution to human problems."

New Negro cooperatives in Kansas City, Saint Louis and New York City were added to those already in successful operation in Chicago, Gary, Ind., Inkster, Mich., and Richmond, Va.

Anti-Communist Forces

In a recently-published editorial, reprinted in the *Congressional Record*, the *Boston Herald* calls attention to a letter written by the then Cardinal Pacelli, papal secretary of state, to the German Ambassador to the Holy See. The Germans had attempted to weaken the effect of the encyclical, "Mit brennender Sorge," by saying that it destroyed the effect of the recent condemnation of communism in *Divini Redemptoris* and that it dealt a dangerous blow to defenses against communism.

In his letter, dated April 30, 1937, Cardinal Pacelli said:

"Nothing could be more disastrous to the internal and external cohesiveness and to the continued existence, despite great strain, of a strong defensive front against the world danger of atheistic communism, than the erroneous belief that this defense

can be based solely upon external power and that the spiritual powers can be denied their rightful place in it.

"There is nothing more misguided than to restrict, among the spiritual powers of the world, the field of operations of Christianity and of its inherent values of truth and life, and to prevent the church from fully utilizing the powers latent in it and ready for action to overcome spiritually, as a blessing of the nations, the errors and misconceptions inherent in bolshevism."

DP Tragedies

As the machinery for moving and settling DP's improves, their plight steadily increases. There remains, however, a large segment of them whose condition remains hopeless. These are the DP's who for one reason or another cannot be resettled.

There are almost 175,000 of these. Almost 50,000 cannot be cared for because of health conditions. Another 27,000 are eliminated because of age. About 27,000 are unmarried or separated women with children under 17. A large group, those with unneeded professional or specialist qualifications, may become eligible as their skills are needed. A small number, 5,100, have been eliminated because of security or criminal records.

One of the most remarkable examples of charity toward these hopeless cases was an offer by the Catholic Mission in East Africa *to receive and care for 200 aged and physically handicapped institutional cases!*

Class Privileges in Soviet Union

A report issued recently by the State Department asserts that there is a growing tendency to differences of economic classes in Soviet Russia. This tendency results from sharp differences in incomes, coupled with tax advantages strongly favoring those in higher brackets.

The report, derived partly from statements made by members of a Norwegian Federation of Trade Unions delegation to Russia in 1948 and partly from Soviet publications, indicates that many families have been able to amass large fortunes despite the Communist regime.

Soviet tax policy has been greatly revised so that it now gives considerably relief to wealthier persons. A system of progressive taxation of income, strongly favored by Marx, is in effect, but tax graduation stops at the level of 12,000 rubles annual income. This is about \$2,000. Higher incomes are not subject to a greater tax.

Most important source of revenue is the sales tax, which imposes almost an equal burden upon all persons, regardless of the size of income. The result of this is that the lower income classes are hardest hit by the tax.

In addition to light income taxes, it is now possible to inherit large sums of money. In the beginning of the Communist regime, inheritance was prohibited. In 1926 the regulation was changed to permit handing on of wealth to descendants, subject to a severe inheritance tax. This tax was abolished in 1943. Hence, it is now possible for privileged families to accumulate large fortunes.

The bureaucratic elite not only enjoy notably higher salaries, but they are further aided by special housing privileges, exclusive compartments on railroads, supplied automobiles and chauffeurs, luxurious resort quarters and better places at all kinds of public gatherings.

On the other hand, the vast majority of Soviet families live in over-crowded conditions. At times four or more families may share a single flat. Many of the houses have no plumbing facilities or central heating.

The Norwegian labor delegation reported that "masses of over-crowded, old, dilapidated houses and badly maintained houses which are seen everywhere and not only in war-damaged areas, bear witness of a housing situation which must be a very important social problem."

Tuition fees for education above the seventh grade tend to restrict somewhat the educational opportunities of workers' children. According to reliable reports, three out of four children do not attend school beyond the fourth grade; in many instances, the parents are not only unable to pay the tuition that would later be required, but the children are needed as workers to supplement the parents' income.

"Separate but Equal" Education

A survey conducted by the *Journal of Negro Education* in the summer of 1948 indicates that in 17 southern states public funds have provided 15 medical schools, 5 law schools, 17 engineering schools, 14 schools of pharmacy, 11 schools of library science, four schools of dentistry, nine schools of social work and at least one graduate school in each of 13 states which offers work for the doctorate, for white students.

For Negro students public funds have provided six law schools, one school of library science and a limited amount of graduate work leading to the master's degree in ten schools in eight states.



British Socialization Policy

Uncertainty about the future plans of the British Labor government regarding the nationalization of industry continues to be a source of disturbance to industrial leaders there. The Blackpool Conference of the Labor party, held last June, seemed to give some assurance that "efficient, economical, really enterprising [industries] . . . working for the common good" would not be affected by the program of nationalization.

At a recent meeting of the Tunnel Port and Cement Company stockholders, Mr. J. M. Jensen, managing director of the company, expressed concern at the announcement recently issued by the government that cement was on the program for nationalization. He said in part:

"As you are undoubtedly all aware, the Labor Party has decided to put the nationalization of the cement industry, the sugar industry, water supply and some industrial insurance, on its programme for the next election. One wonders why a relatively small industry like cement should have been singled out for this purpose.

"The cement industry in its efficiency compares favourably with that in any other country, including the U. S. A., and, in the matter of sale prices, it is ahead of any other country in the world today,

in all of which prices are higher than at home. It is in relatively few hands and is well organized, but the Forde Committee, which was appointed by the present Government, made it abundantly clear that the cement industry had not abused its position. . . .

"At the Blackpool Conference in June last, the Lord President made the following statement:

Private enterprise can no longer be allowed to go its own sweet way. In the present state, all business, socialized and private, is the nation's business. The only proper justification for private enterprise is that it shall be efficient, economical, really enterprising and working for the common good. If it meets those requirements it will deserve well of the country and receive the praise of Socialist Ministers. If it indulges in anti-social conduct, it will be pulled up short and sharp.

"I appreciate that this statement was made to excuse to his supporters the continued existence of private enterprise and to threaten any private industry which failed to receive the praise of Socialist Ministers. It has, however, been thought to indicate that industries that were efficient, economical, and enterprising and working for the common good might regard themselves as free from the threat of nationalization.

"The selection of the cement industry proves how little regard in this respect can be paid to Mr. Morrison's statement. If the findings of the various committees appointed by the present Government are anything to go by, the cement industry has deserved well of the country. It has even received the praise of the present Minister of Works when he wrote some time ago:

I recognize that the industry has attained a high standard of efficiency and that its record of production at a time when replacement of plant is virtually impossible, reflects credit to all concerned.

"It is clear, therefore, no industry can in future feel itself safe against nationalization as long as there is a Labor administration in power—no matter how admirably such industry may be conducted."

{ BOOKS }

THE RISE OF RUSSIA IN ASIA.—By David J. Dallin. Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut, 1949, 293 pp. \$5.00.

SOVIET RUSSIA AND THE FAR EAST.—By David J. Dallin. Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut, 1948, 398 pp. \$5.00.

From schooldays we are accustomed to hearing of the balance of power in Europe, but the phrase, though fitting, is rarely applied to Asia. It is particularly applicable to northeastern Asia, where the interests of two great powers, Russia and Japan meet in Manchuria. They have watched each other's activities jealously since the last century, both considering Manchuria as belonging to their own "sphere of influence." China has never been strong enough to assert her claim effectively, though the millions who moved in during recent decades have made the population of Manchuria overwhelmingly Chinese in race. The United States, geographically distant, was without immediate access to this key-point of northeastern Asia, but worked incessantly to keep the balance of power between Russia and Japan so that neither could attain monopoly.

The whole progress of the long struggle for supremacy is presented in very clear lines for the general reader in these two volumes. What strikes the reader of Mr. Dallin's book is the clear continuity of Russian foreign policy, the expansionist tendency having changed not at all in the change from the Czarist regime to the present Soviet government. The only difference is that now her imperialistic ambitions are mightily supported by the doctrine and myth of Communism, which camouflage the expansionist policy under the colours of liberation of the world proletariat.

The Rise of Russia in Asia presents this history from the middle of the last century up to 1930, while *Soviet Russia and the Far East* deals with the events of recent years, bringing the story up to 1948.

The titles of the books may be slightly

misleading, especially *The Rise of Russia in Asia*. One would expect a description of Russian activities in India, Indo-China and other Asiatic countries, but in fact both books are limited to the northeastern sector, treating mainly of Manchuria, Mongolia, Sinkiang and, of course, China.

Developments in this part of the world are presented in a clear, historical survey of the diplomatic moves and countermoves that accompanied each new step. For the general reader who approaches the subject without any specialized knowledge, the books should prove fascinating, for the intricate questions involved are clarified by good maps, a clear style and a certain impression of moderate objectivity.

On the side of documentation, Mr. Dallin provides a valuable scientific contribution in his use of Russian sources on northeastern Asia. These, though rarely giving new light on the subject, at least add a new flavour to the events treated. Unfortunately, many statements in the books are without any indication of sources. They are, however, mostly correct and well-balanced.

The least satisfactory sections are those on Chinese Communism. Here, besides the Russian sources, the author relies chiefly on the reports of American news agencies—a very doubtful source of documentation. He had no immediate access to Chinese sources, and quotes practically nothing from the official publications of the Chinese Communist Party.

The military efforts of the Chinese Communists during the Japanese War are as unjustly minimized as they were overestimated by the pro-Communist writers. In fact, the continual war of nerves and the presence of guerillas over vast areas of north and central China was a far from negligible factor in the war, and according to the reports of unbiased witnesses, many of these groups were definitely organized by the Communists.

The chapter on Soviet assistance to the Chinese Communists, although it shows the great influence of Soviet diplomatic policy on the success of Chinese Communism,

nism, gives—as the author himself acknowledges—hardly any exact data about the fact and the extension of material aid from Russia.

Post-war Communist policy in China is likewise unsatisfactorily treated. It is a misstatement to put the beginning of the new terrorist policy of the Chinese Communists at 1947. This terrorism lasted from 1945 to 1947, and in the latter year, along with a purge in the Party, came the turnover to a more moderate policy.

On the whole, these books are most pleasant reading and form an easy and excellent guide for the beginner in Far Eastern affairs.

L. LADANY, S.J.

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THE POLITICAL COMMUNITY. A STUDY OF ANOMIE.—By Sebastian De Grazia. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1948, xi, 258 pp. \$4.00.

Political Community is an elaboration of a doctoral dissertation. It exhibits the usual virtues of a dissertation in that it has an object, is logical and clear. Unlike the ordinary dissertation, it is written in an attractive style, with notes almost as interesting as the text. As the subtitle implies, anomie, or social disorganization, is the theme.

The author elaborates with examples from anthropology and psychology Aristotle's dictum that man is a political animal. He concludes that the conditioning of early environment leads men to yearn for security and affection in their social relations. After this introduction, De Grazia makes the point that much of contemporary social disorganization and consequent discontent are due to what he calls the competitive ethics which is continually at odds with man's basic desire for a social life based on security and brotherly affection.

No solutions are offered, but a serious problem is presented clearly. Despite a few important unproved assertions and the fact that most of the material is illustrative rather than probative, the book is stimulating and thought provoking. It merits the serious consideration of anyone interested in the larger problems confronting the world today.

GEORGE CURRAN, S.J.
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COMMUNISM AND CHRISTIANS. —

By François Mauriac *et al.*, J. F. Scanlan, tr. Newman Press, Westminster, Maryland, 1949, 294 pp. \$2.50.

CHRISTIANITY AND COMMUNISM.

—By John C. Bennett. Association Press, New York, 1948, 128 pp. \$1.50.

To answer the question raised by the first of these two works, "May Christians accept the extended hand?", Père Ducattillon, O.P., Alexandre Marc, Berdyaev (an Orthodox Catholic), Denis de Rougement (a Calvinist) and Daniel-Rops contribute chapters.

Père Ducattillon has an excellent analysis of four Communist tenets: materialism, the class struggle, property and religion. In each of these sections he is eminently fair to Marxist thought and demonstrates that an honest presentation of Communist doctrine, devoid of hysteria and exaggeration, is a quite adequate refutation.

Marc considers the question by examining the historical attitude of the U. S. S. R. toward the Churches there and the campaign of the Union of the Godless. Berdyaev, in analyzing the deleterious effect of Marxism upon the human person, acutely observes that Marxist criticism of the capitalist regime is humanist, but that Marx's solution, which emphasizes class, mass and man (not men), leaves man more dehumanized, more "alienated" than a capitalist society.

Denis de Rougement juxtaposes Marx and Saint Paul: "The philosophers have only interpreted the world in different ways; the point, however, is to *change* it," (Theses on Feuerbach, xi). And "Be not fashioned according to this world; but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind that ye may prove what is the good and acceptable and perfect will of God." And "...you must not fall in with the manners of this world; there must be an inward change, a remaking of your minds, so that you can satisfy yourselves what is God's will, the good thing, the desirable thing, the perfect thing," (Rom. 12,2; Knox). Marx's revolution is external and determinist; Christ's is interior and free.

Daniel-Rops points out that the Christian revolution must be achieved not only internally, but on a totally different plane of life and with a totally different objective in view than the Marxist revolution. This

excellent book does far more than answer the question posed in Mauriac's introductory essay; it is a superb analysis of the Communist and of the Christian revolutions.

Dr. Bennett's little book is intended for young people and students. Like the work just examined, it attempts to be accurate (though popular) in its presentation of Marxist thought—and succeeds. Because of the nature of his audience, Dr. Bennett has excluded discussion of more abstruse points of Communism, but he manages to explain in clear and simple terms its major objectives and tenets. He is fair-minded, if incomplete, in his occasional discussion of Catholicism; the points on which Catholics might disagree seem to involve the eternal problem of reconciling practise with Catholic doctrine.

FRANCIS J. CORLEY, S.J.



FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS: The Dynamics of Politics Abroad.—By Fritz Morstein Marx, ed. Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1949, 697 pp. \$6.35. \$4.75 to schools.

The rubble strewn over parts of the world as a result of war marks all that is left of some of the world's great treasures. The structures that arise in their place will pay no homage to the past, but will stand before their critics on their own merits. With justification we can leave that reconstruction to others and await with patience the final unveilings.

Not so, however, with the political debris left by war. Fallen political institutions cannot be swept into a heap and carted away. Nor can we today afford to wait for this period of transition and reconstruction to pass, for the past, no less than the present, is molding the shape of things to come.

No study, therefore, in government is more ephemeral or more important than the study of comparative governments. The symposium edited by Professor Marx meets the challenge quite successfully. It re-evaluates the relative importance of the various nations, plays their roles against the backdrop of history, and spotlights the problems likely to dominate succeeding stages. The emphasis placed on interpretation has, at times prevented the detailed

description of governmental structures, but compensation is had from the treatment of 17 governments by a panel of eight competent scholars.

The best sections of the book are John N. Hazard's dispassionate and objective description of Soviet Russia and its dependencies, and Mario Einaudi's comparative study of the transitional status of France and Italy. The longest analysis (150 pp.) is W. Hardy Wickwar's treatment of Britain. The governments of the Far East are handled by Paul M. A. Linebarger. Mexico and Brazil, as representative Latin American countries, are briefly described by Henry P. Jordan. Andrew Gyorgy considers the Danubian satellites, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Yugoslavia. And finally, the Central European governments of Germany, Austria, and Switzerland are treated as a group by John Brown Mason. The editor reserved the doctrinaire introduction and the concluding chapter for himself.

The book may not be the best available text for the introductory course in comparative government, but it is an excellent supplement.

P. WOELFL, S.J.
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TWO IN ONE FLESH (3 volumes).—

By the Rev. E. C. Messenger, The Newman Press, Westminster, Maryland, 1948.

AN INTRODUCTION TO SEX AND MARRIAGE (Vol. I). — xv, 61 pp. \$2.00.

This book is the first of three parts in Father Messenger's study of sex and marriage. The first two of its eight chapters treat of the prejudice against sex; three chapters investigate the teaching of Scripture on sex in the Old and New Testament; three chapters consider sex in the animal world and in man according to natural science and philosophy. A brief summary and adequate index round out this volume.

The aim of this first part, "to dispel prejudices" of a semi-Manichean kind, is substantiated by the author's exposition of Catholic doctrine and his analysis of scientific and philosophical thought. Thus is established a convincing foundation for

"the true Catholic solution, favoured by the Church's best theologians," for "the difficult and delicate task of the sex instruction of children and adolescents."

THE PRACTICE OF SEX AND MARRIAGE (Vol. III).—71 pp. \$2.00.

The 16 chapters of this final volume present a *practical* exposition of the Catholic and Christian principles explained and justified in Part Two. Seven chapters, treating of the social aspect of sex, the choice of a state in life, the choice of a partner, and the marriage ceremony, look more towards preparation for marriage. Four chapters treat of intercourse as an expression of mutual love, time of intercourse, and the religious aspect of the sex act and of pregnancy.

In the last five chapters the Church and childbirth, the size of the family ("at least four children if possible"), birth control, family life and prayers, and the sex instruction of children are discussed. Wherever possible the author quotes the prayers and rites of the Church. A select bibliography on seven branches of the subject is furnished, and the work is concluded with an index to this volume.

Because of their enlightened Catholic view, these compact works should be available to and read by all students for the priesthood, priests, and marriage counselors, and as many educated Catholics as possible; their contents and point of view should be imparted to everyone interested in marriage, if the prohibitive price makes purchase impossible.

RICHARD P. BURKE, S.J.
Weston College.

THE MYSTERY OF SEX AND MARRIAGE (Vol. II).—vii, 222 pp. \$3.50.

Fr. Messenger aims "at giving a more profound and detailed account of Catholic teaching on Sex and Marriage . . ." (p. v). The doctrine of the Fall and its effects on sex matters follows discussion of sex in the state of innocence. He exposes (and clarifies) the Old and New Testament teaching, together with the Apostolic and Patristic interpretations. Four chapters summarize the "developed theory of sex"; he concludes with an interesting analysis of the sense of shame and the meaning of modesty.

This is not the Catholic counterpart of modern books with similar title. It is a scholarly work, penetrating, quite theological, and a good presentation of Catholic principles with respect to sex. Priests and a limited class of lay readers will most appreciate this kind of writing.

GEORGE J. McKEON, S.J.
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THE HIGH COST OF VENGEANCE.

—By Freda Uitley. Henry Regnery Company, Hinsdale, Ill., 1949, 310 pp. \$3.50.

For some time there has been an uneasy feeling growing up in most interested Americans that all is not well with German reconstruction. And since any hope of peace in Europe or in the world, for that matter, depends upon the successful reconstruction of Germany both economically and politically, that uneasy feeling calls for a searching investigation. We won the war—yes, but are we now losing the peace? Perhaps even now it is too late to find a negative answer to this question.

At any rate, Miss Uitley has given us a new book which contains much information about our own American policies in Germany and the policies of the other members of the "Big Four" engaged in "solving" the German problem. Her extended visit to Berlin and the western zones in the fall of 1948 gave her firsthand knowledge of the mismanagement, the double talk about democracy, the pillaging, the unlawful and unwarranted seizure of property by the allies, and the awful miscarriage of justice foisted onto the German people by the great democracies of the west. The recital of the horrible facts of our occupation is enough to chill the blood of Americans who love democracy and believe in the dignity of a human being. Our aims and objectives until recently have been carried out in anything but a democratic manner and with regard to the human dignity of the German people.

We can have peace or vengeance, not both. The effect of Roosevelt's "enlightened" post-war policies being carried out in Germany seem to indicate that our leaders have chosen the latter course. Unless we change these policies, says Miss Uitley, we face the inevitable turning of the Germans away from the West and democracy

toward the East and communism. That will mark our own sad defeat in the battlefield that is now Germany and an end to our tenuous security from the threat of world communism.

Miss Utlely's book is recommended without qualification to all Americans who have become uneasy about our activities in Germany. It will shock them and perhaps even move them to express their indignation to the leaders who are making such a farce out of democracy in Germany. At the very least, this book will bring them up-to-the-minute information on Allied activities in this post-war battle for a lasting peace in Europe.

JOHN F. SNYDER, S.J.
Campion

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MAINTAINING COMPETITION. REQUISITES OF A GOVERNMENTAL POLICY. — By Corwin D. Edwards. McGraw-Hill, New York, 1949, xi, 335 pp. \$3.75.

The kind of competition presumed by the Courts in earlier anti-trust enforcement was the text book's free trading of many, small units on both sides of all markets. From this automatically resulted economic equilibrium. The Courts, along with most of us, have abandoned the ideal without much thought to a substitute. Professor Edwards, however, prior to his recent entrance to government service, had worked out this "content of a policy designed to maintain the competitive system."

The striking thing about this study is two-fold: 1. an explicit position that anti-trust enforcement should not be directed to automatic operation of the economy (this being neither feasible nor to-be-hoped-for); 2. the substitution as goal of a degree of competition which rids the economy of the evils of monopoly by a. affording traders and consumers satisfactory alternatives of choice, b. maintaining freedom of entry to trade and business, c. ensuring the needed incentives against unproductive (though comfortable) security of position.

Because there can be no automatic economy, Edwards recognizes the need for government planning against chronic stagnation in industry or area, against cyclical decline, against normal unemployment. Accordingly, he explores various plannings

which will not unduly interfere with the kind of competition he sees as necessary and achievable.

"Competition," he concludes, "is a major part of public policy but not the whole of it." The problem of optimum allocation of resources is solved by a combination of a free sector of the economy with plenty of alternatives, a regulated sector (public utilities etc.), and a supplement of government planning.

Edwards is not a trust busting crusader, not punitive nor hypercritical of business practice nor size. His proposals for anti-trust implementation of his program are weighed with discrimination and a caution. The least needed incentive and reasonable pursuit of security be destroyed.

Edwards' discussions of alternative policies frequently lead through a maze of "however's." The reader at times will doubt that the author's final position is significantly stronger than positions he rejects. In places several readings are required to be sure what is his stand. But the book is very readable, devoid of esoteric terminology, intricate theorizing, and diagrams. Recommended to all social students.

PHILIP S. LAND, S.J.
ISS

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CRITIQUE OF PRACTICAL REASON —By Immanuel Kant. Lewis W. Beck tr., ed. University of Chicago Press 1949, xv, 370 pp. \$5.00.

EARLY THEOLOGICAL WRITINGS —By George Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel. T. M. Knox and Richard Kroner, trs. University of Chicago Press, 1949, xi, 340 pp. \$5.00.

These well edited, well printed books are two in the series of *Chicago Editions*, intended "to make available to the general reading public English editions of the great writers in the intellectual heritage of Western civilization."

In addition to the *Critique of Practical Reason*, the volume of Kant contains his *Foundations of the Metaphysics of Morals*, *Inquiry into the Distinctness of the Fundamental Principles of Natural Theology and Morals*, *Perpetual Peace* and essays on *Enlightenment* and *Orientation in Thinking*.

These essays of Kant present his attempt to outline a philosophy of conduct which

will be at once rational and invariable. His two most important ethical works, the *Critique* and the earlier *Foundations*, are here printed complete; there are just two brief excerpts from the later *Metaphysics of Morals*.

The other, lesser works have a special significance of their own. In them, notably the essays on *Enlightenment*, *Orientalism*, and *Perpetual Peace*, we see Kant's ceaseless attempts to preserve man's dignity and humanity. Science and romanticism were the two great dangers he saw, and against them he defended the freedom and rationality of human nature. In his defensive efforts, however, he had no weapons except the laws which reason would set for itself and his own inflexible devotion to the cause of man.

Perpetual Peace is a still popular outline of a society in which peace will be eternally safe. Its staunch republicanism makes it intelligible reading to moderns, who will find in the work, however, foreshadowings of state absolutism, as well as of evolutionary tendencies and conflicts that vaguely anticipate the political ideas of Hegel.

The translations from Hegel comprise most of his early theological writings, first printed in German in 1907. Included are "The Positivity of the Christian Religion," "The Spirit of Christianity and Its Fate," "Love," "Fragment of a System" and "On Classical Studies." There is a preface by Professor T. M. Knox, who translated all but "Fragment of a System" and "On Classical Studies," and a lengthy introduction by Professor Richard Kroner.

These works chronicle Hegel's early attempts to reconcile religious dogma and morality with the autonomous Kantian ethic. His first attempt is an unfavorable comparison of Christianity with Greek religion, which, he believes, conforms more exactly to the true and rational religion which Kant's ethics posit. This work breathes the same spirit as Hegel's "Life of Jesus," which is an attempt to rewrite the Life in Kantian terms.

Although "The Spirit of Christianity" was written just a year or so later, its attitude toward the Christian religion is radically changed. Now Judaism is the "ugly" religion; Christianity is the "most holy, most beautiful, of all things." The basic principle remains the same, however, in both works: religion is good when it

springs from "a human urge, a human need"; it is "positive" and inhuman when its commandments come from someone outside man and his nature. "The fate of the Jewish people is the fate of Macbeth who stepped out of nature itself, clung to alien beings, and so in their service had to trample and slay everything holy in human nature, had at last to be forsaken by his gods (since these were objects and he their slave) and be dashed to pieces on his faith itself."

These early works demonstrate the acute remark of Jean Wahl that before Hegel became a hegelian of the right he had been a hegelian of the left. After Hegel's philosophy had run full cycle, it comes back to its starting place in the thought of Feuerbach.

The introductions to both these works, notably Richard Kroner's long essay, "Hegel's Philosophical Development," are excellent. Authors' notes, as well as numerous additions by the editors, are included. Both volumes have serviceable indices.

FRANCIS J. CORLEY, S.J.

ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF PUBLIC SERVICES FOR CHILDREN IN MINNESOTA.—By Gioh-Fang (Dju) Ma. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1948, xiv, 331 pp. \$5.00.

This book, paper bound and planographed, is a painstaking piece of work. Its appeal will not be wide, due to the inclusion of an exhausting number of details. These are necessary, of course, since the intention is to present a complete picture of the evolution of work for underprivileged children. Moreover, a knowledge of the step-by-step progress made in Minnesota would be valuable for one preparing to launch a social program in a country where social services scarcely exist. This may have been Mrs. Ma's motivation, since she is a "student from a foreign country."

The oft-repeated message of the volume is that adequate social services are impossible without a trained personnel, and to gain and hold these workers ample funds are required. Deficiencies in Minnesota's well-conceived social program have been largely due to an unwillingness to appropriate sufficient funds.

REGINALD R. LEFEBVRE, S.J.
West Baden College

NO FRIEND OF LABOR: The ACTU in the Labor Unions.—By James Morton Freeman. The Fulfillment Press, New York, 1948, 31 pp. 35 cents.

The inner title page is sub-headed "The Roman Catholic Church and the Trade Unions." This little pamphlet, marked as Atomic Pamphlet Number One, is a Roman hierarchy-under-the-bed essay. The writer has found many facts, laid them down in illogical juxtaposition, and professes to derive conclusions about the aims of the Roman schemers for control of American labor and government. First glance would make one wonder if it were a Commie concoction; second look convinces that it is merely old-fashioned demagoguery compounded of ignorance and prejudice. A scholarly rational analysis of the same set of facts led Philip Taft to far different conclusions in his study, "The Association of Catholic Trade Unionists," in the January, 1949, issue of the *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*.

MORTIMER H. GAVIN, S.J.
ISS

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PROTESTANT CHURCHES AND INDUSTRIAL AMERICA.—By Henry F. May. Harper and Brothers, New York, 1949, x, 297 pp. \$3.50.

The author teaches American History at Scripps College, Claremont, California. He wrote this study at the suggestion of Professor A. M. Schlesinger of Harvard, under whom he worked.

It is a specialized study, limited to the five major groups: Presbyterian, Congregationalist, Baptist, Methodist and Episcopalian. The period covered is also short—from the end of the Civil War to 1895. The data are largely from the principal religious journals of the period and from the collected works of the leading clerical spokesmen of the day. Four major sections make the book.

A short survey of the background period from 1828 to 1861 describes the conservative mold of traditional American Protestantism and the accent upon the individualistic elements in its moral preaching.

A second section, titled "The Summit of Complacency," documents the satisfied contentment of the churches in the established order, and the assurance and complacency

in the happy coincidence of economic laissez-faire doctrine and Christian morality. Poverty and distress caused by the hardness and the ruthlessness of industrial progress was for the most part ignored; when noticed at all, it was explained away by the old Calvinist teaching that equated poverty with vice, and distress of the poor with the unalterable will of God.

Part three notes the sources of change in the thinking of leading clerics and the position of the official journals and conventions. The author lists three principal events as occasions for new appraisals and questionings by the leaders of Protestant thought: the riots connected with the railroad strikes of 1877; the steel, railway and streetcar strikes of 1886; the steel and coal strikes of 1892 and 1894 combined with the panic and distress of 1893.

The final chapters analyze the various strains of the new thinking, distinguishing the conservative, progressive moderate and the radical groups, and the interrelations among the three.

This book is not easy reading. There is an element of the compilation about it, an impression of cataloguing—which makes it something less than popular in style. Yet it is a book well worth the attention of all who teach social problems, historically, ethically or politically considered. There is a splendid bibliography and a wealth of documentation. The author has produced a real contribution to an understanding of the development of social attitudes which have created many of the problems still confronting the country today.

MORTIMER H. GAVIN, S.J.
ISS

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THE LAW AND YOU.—By Max Radin. (A Mentor Book) The New American Library, New York, 1948, 190 pp. 35 cents.

This little pocket book supplies the modicum of information necessary for convincing the ordinary layman that the law is a vital factor in his everyday life. Accordingly, it surveys and describes the legal meshes of the laws regulating household domestic affairs. It is not a carefully planned or well written book, but it does make the law look simple.

P. WOELFL, S.J.
ISS

WORTH READING

Russell W. Davenport, "The Greatest Opportunity on Earth," *Fortune*, 40 (October, 1949) 65-69; 200-208.

Mr. Davenport recognizes a trend in the United States since 1932 toward a "welfare state." Concerning welfare he asks two questions. "Is the demand of the American people for 'welfare' a justifiable demand, or is it merely the irresponsible clamor of the mob for bread and circuses?" "If it is a justifiable demand, consonant with the necessities of social evolution, is there any way to satisfy it without recourse to the authoritarian state?"

He finds justification for the demand in the constitutional guarantee of the right to life, which today is primarily an economic right. He sees an alternate way of providing security in the assumption of responsibility by businessmen. This is "the greatest opportunity on earth." They must consciously plan economic security for their employees by stabilized employment and income. They must 'humanize' work by dealing with employees as human beings. All collaborators in enterprise must be integrated into the industrial process.

"If a hundred leading firms were to announce that from now on they intended to make themselves primarily responsible for implementing the economic rights of their employees, and that they were undertaking a program of research and action to that end, a very different atmosphere would be created. . . . Indeed, it would resound around the world like the crack of a gun."

Peter F. Drucker, "The New Society, Parts I, II & III," *Harper's Magazine*, 199 (September, October and November, 1949) 21-29, 74-79.

Two parts of Mr. Drucker's article have already appeared. In it he examines the society that has resulted from the rise of industrialism, notably from the principle of mass production. He acknowledges and declares inescapable the social ills which Mr. Davenport hopes to eliminate. In the second article Drucker analyzes the role of management and of union leaders. By insisting that industry exists primarily for

production, he minimizes its internal social nature and function with the result that he renders more difficult the type of social progress Davenport suggests. "But the cause, the driving force, the purpose and function of unionism are all independent of the policies of management and rooted in the one thing over which management has absolutely no control whatever: the very existence and function of management itself."

Clinton L. Rossiter, "Constitutional Dictatorship in the Atomic Age," *Review of Politics*, 11 (October, 1949) 395-418.

Professor Rossiter applies the idea of his book, *Constitutional Dictatorship*, (Princeton, 1948: see review in *SOCIAL ORDER*, 1 [1948] 429 by Paul V. Kennedy), to the extreme crisis that would arise out of a sustained atomic attack upon the United States. He describes "the government we are likely to have," suggests "a constitutional philosophy to justify such dictatorship," recommends "a few practical measures that would make this regime more effective and responsible."

William A. Nolan, S.J., "What Makes Communists Tick?" *America*, 82 (October 8, 1949) 9-12.

Father Nolan, who completed research at Fordham University upon the Communist attempt to win the Negro, has collected under six headings an imposing catalogue of motives which inspire people to become Communists or to espouse the Communist cause. His list seems to be pretty exhaustive and might well serve as a skeleton to be filled out by subsequent articles. We need a lot of writing, especially by ex-Communists, to help us understand the manifold paths that lead to Moscow. If nothing else, such studies will help us see more clearly some of the things that must be righted in our own society to make it more attractive to sincerely social-minded liberals.

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